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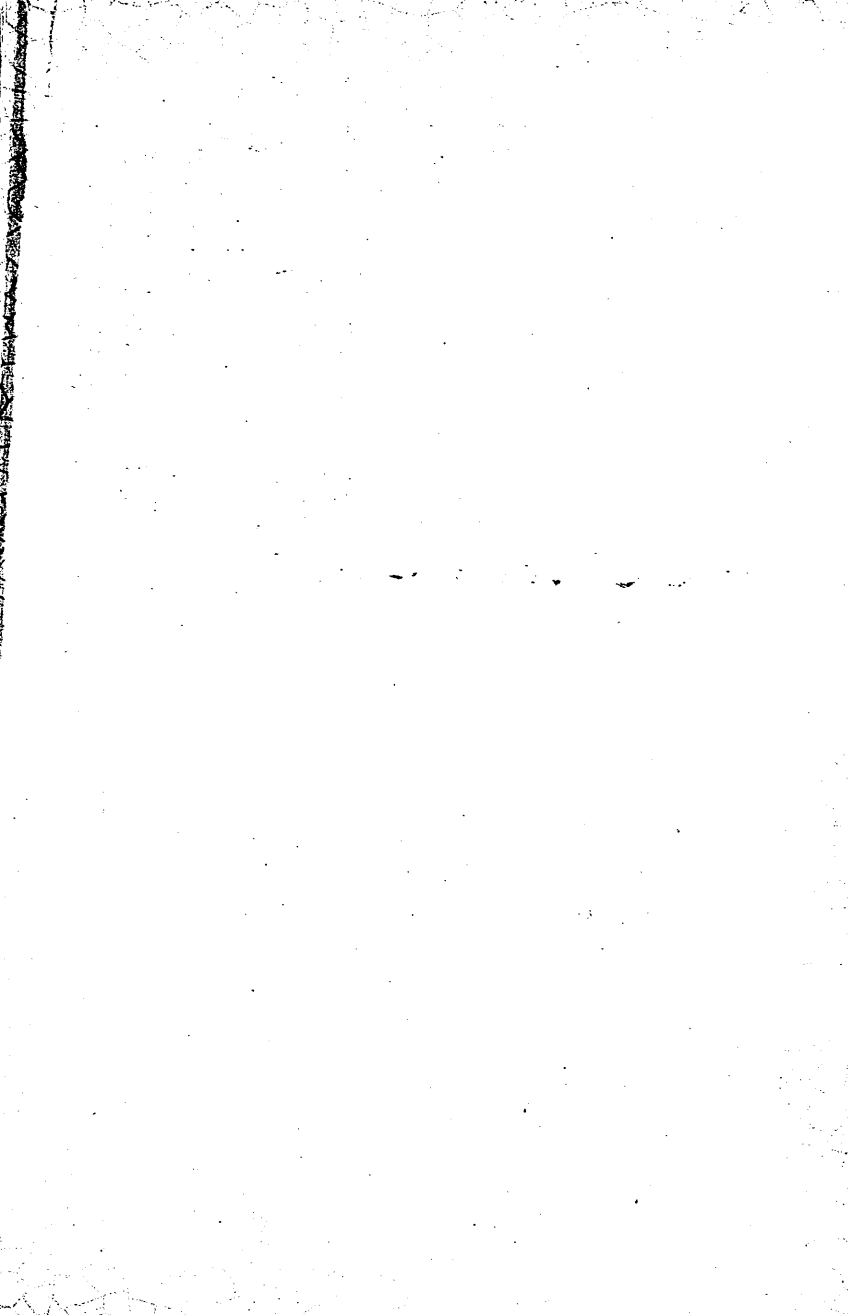
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EMINENT CHRISTIAN WORKERS
OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY
G. BARNETT SMITH,
AUTHOR OF "EVERYDAY HEROES," ETC.

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I.

ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

EMINENT CHRISTIAN WORKERS

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NINETEENTH CENTURY.



I.

ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

THE distinguished servant of God whose name heads this memorial sketch did much towards making the Church of England the Church of the people; but he had that enviable faculty besides of attracting the sympathies of those not in her communion. He was one of those typical heroes of duty of whom England is justly proud—men whose devotion to humanity has been conspicuous, whether their lot has been cast in humble or in exalted spheres. Compassionate and just in life, and statesmanlike in action, he was well entitled to the designation of a great archbishop. He may, indeed, be said to have almost realized the national ideal of what an Archbishop of Canterbury ought to be. No holder of the see of St.

Augustine was ever more skilful in reconciling conflicting interests ; and if he could not lay claim to striking originality or genius, he possessed in a remarkable degree those rare gifts of earnestness, of tolerance, of charity, and of wisdom, so necessary to his lofty position.

Archibald Campbell Tait was of Scottish birth and Presbyterian descent, being the son of Mr. Craufurd Tait and of Susan, fourth daughter of Sir Ilay Campbell. He was born in Edinburgh, on the 22nd of December, 1811 ; and his sister, Lady Wake—who was nearly twelve years his senior—has stated in her *Reminiscences* that the circumstances of the future primate's birth did not promise the noble career of usefulness with which God blessed him. "Had he been born in poorer circumstances, or had his parents been either careless or faint-hearted, he must have remained a cripple all his days, for his poor little feet were found to be completely doubled inwards. However, the assurance was given that there was good hope ; they could in time be brought to a proper shape. 'In time !' Alas ! it was over those words that my poor mother wept ; for she knew that they expressed a suffering infancy, and a childhood debarred from childhood's active enjoyment. She was full of faith and love, and perhaps God whispered to her heart that by those very means He would best form her child for the work He destined for him ; for when she left her room to rejoin the little circle, which never felt right when she was absent, she brought with her the usual gentle cheerfulness ; and the only outward sign

of the misfortune was that the baby Archie was fondled and spoken of with an inexpressible tenderness." But in three years a severe blow fell upon the household, by the death of Mrs. Tait—a woman purely and innocently good, and whose best epitaph is that she was never heard to speak unkindly to a single human being, while the number of her self-denying deeds of charity was not known until after her death.

The boy now passed mainly under the charge of an old nurse, Betty Morton, who did her best to care for both soul and body. In the one case she began with him a systematic study of an ancient nursery Bible; and in the second case she took him, with his little brother Campbell, also a cripple, to the Whitworth doctors in Lancashire, who were famous for their skill in recovering withered or broken limbs. John Taylor, the elder of the two doctors, had acquired such fame that he was sent for by George III. to prescribe for the Princess Elizabeth, whom he cured of some ailment which had baffled all ordinary skill. To John Taylor's son James the youths were committed, and fifty years afterwards, Archbishop Tait dictated an account of their experiences. They lived in the Red Lion Inn, with their kind old nurse, and went daily to the doctor, whose method of treatment seems to have been painful, if salutary. Fortunately, both boys were in a marvellous manner restored to the perfect use of their limbs.

In October, 1821, Archibald Tait was admitted to the celebrated Edinburgh High School, through which had passed, a generation before, Walter

Scott, Henry Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, and Henry Cockburn. In this really democratic school, where the sons of peers and of shopkeepers mingled together without any idea of superiority or inferiority, young Tait made rapid progress. In his fourteenth year he executed a very creditable translation from Virgil. About this time he sustained a severe shock by the death of his brother Campbell, his constant companion, after two days' illness. Archibald was moved, in 1824, to the newly founded Edinburgh Academy, where he took his place in the highest class. According to Principal Shairp, the Academy aimed at careful grounding, sound learning, and strenuous labour; the result being that no Academy boy ever learned any part of scholarship there which he had afterwards to unlearn, go where he might. Young Tait was awarded the gold medal as "Dux" of the whole school, and he carried off besides prizes innumerable for Latin, Greek, English, and French. His biographers state that on the "Exhibition Day," August 1, 1827, the prizes were given by Lord Cockburn, "whose speech of earnest eloquence, addressed to the youthful 'Dux,' was long remembered by all who listened to it. Tait's success on this occasion was remarkable. He had secured no less than six of the foremost prizes in what was already a school of the first order, and Lord Cockburn was justified when he concluded his address in these words: 'Go forth, young man, and remember that, wherever you go, the eyes of your country are upon you.'" Tait entered Glasgow University in 1827, and a journal which

he kept showed the closeness of his studies. He was again uninterruptedly successful, carrying off numerous prizes. In the Debating Society he made a considerable mark, and among the causes he advocated were Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary reform, the maintenance of Church establishments, and the inexpediency of abolishing rotten boroughs. He was awarded the Snell Exhibition, and in 1830 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he gained first a scholarship, and then a Fellowship, and was made Tutor of Balliol in 1835.

Tait's religious training had been carried on by his elder sisters, Lady Sitwell and Lady Wake, aided by the faithful Betty Morton. He had been baptized into the Established Church of Scotland, but before he left the north he had sometimes attended the services of the Episcopal Church. It is said that from the first there was a pathetic seriousness about him, which caused him to be described as "The Little Bishop," from the time he was six years old. When he entered into residence at Balliol, he became a candidate for Confirmation in the English Church, and, after due preparation, he was confirmed by the Bishop of Oxford. He caused great delight to the master of his college, Dr. Jenkyns, by his reply to the doctor's question as to his object in coming to Oxford. "To improve myself, sir, and to make friends," was his ready answer. Dr. Jenkyns himself was one of the friends he made. At Balliol he formed a lifelong intimacy with Herman Merivale, just as he had formed one with Archibald Swinton, at Glasgow.

It has been pointed out that, although it is "a mere congratulatory commonplace, when the rawest of youths takes Holy Orders, or eats his dinners in the Temple, to remind him, as the case may be, of Lambeth Palace or of the woolsack, the early references in Tait's correspondence to the archbishopric of Canterbury and his own career are quite remarkable and persistent." On his first visit to London, when he had been out one evening for a walk, he was asked what he had been doing. "Walking through Lambeth," he replied. "Through Lambeth!" was the astonished answer; "why, whatever possessed you to walk in Lambeth?" "Well, I wanted to see how I shall like the place when I get there." A few years later his friend Mr. Hall wrote, "Ogilvie (chaplain to Archbishop Howley) is flourishing about town, and Jones and I have agreed to pay him a visit together at your future episcopal residence next week." Again, when the fire occurred at the Houses of Parliament in 1834, another friend wrote, "I was seriously alarmed lest I should have had to communicate to you the intelligence that your palace at Lambeth was burnt to the ground. It gives me great pleasure, however, to be able to state that the only serious loss which you have incurred consists in the total destruction by fire of the bishops' bench in the House of Lords." Finally, in the summer of 1833, when Tait formed one of a reading party at Seaton, in Devonshire, a Dissenting minister wrote a poem, entitled "Seaton Beach," in which he described the group, and the following lines occurred in the poem :—

“And if Lavater rightly has defined,
From signs external, features of the mind,
He whom near yonder cliff we see recline
A mitred prelate may hereafter shine ;
That youth, who seems exploring Nature’s laws,
An ermined judge may win deserved applause !”

The coincidence is certainly very strange ; but the former youth was Archibald Tait, and the other Roundell Palmer, who, when he became Lord Chancellor, was reminded by the archbishop of the prophecy.

In 1832 Tait lost his father, and it was an especially severe blow, as Mr. Tait had taken the keenest interest in the welfare of his youngest and favourite son. On this mournful occasion Lady Wake wrote to her brother, “We have all a sad loss, but to you, my dearest Archie, I feel that it is the greatest, for he was to you both a motive for exertion and a reward to success ; for what could be so stimulating as his anxious interest ? and what so delightful as the gratified happiness with which each new successful effort filled his heart ? But even now, though he is no longer here, his memory remains as a more sacred influence. In speaking of him now, many will recur to his loss of fortune, and the imprudences which, perhaps, caused it. But it is in your power, my Archie, to cause that in future he will only be spoken of as the father who formed a great and good man, useful to his country in that manner in which the benefits bestowed survive time, to be acknowledged in eternity. . . . We have been counting your age, and are amazed to find that you will be twenty-one next birthday. I had thought you were still a child,

and behold, you are a man!" It will thus be seen that strangers and members of his own family alike indulged high hopes for the future of Archibald Tait.

The man to whom Tait owed most in his early undergraduate days was Frederick Oakeley, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, and afterwards the well-known Canon of the Roman Catholic Church in Islington. He was considerably the senior of Tait. Long years subsequently the archbishop wrote of him, "He never seemed tired of doing me acts of kindness. His mind was opened wide to religious impressions, and the influence of Bishop Sumner and his friends had given him a strong bias to the Evangelical school. This continued more or less all through my undergraduate days, but gradually he succumbed to the then almost irresistible fascination of John Henry Newman." The affection between Oakeley and his pupil continued unabated till the death of the former, and when he was passing away Father Oakeley said, "Let my dear friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, know as soon as I am gone."

Tait took a prominent part in the debates of the Union Society at Oxford. His biographers observe upon this head, "In place of the boyish Toryism of his Glasgow days, he was now, if we may judge from the Union records, developing into an earnest and consistent Whig, and the votes he gave in the Oxford Union were such as he would have given to the end of his life. Before he had been six months at Oxford he stood forth, in opposition to Roundell Palmer, to defend 'the spirit of de-

mocracy,' and the happy results of Catholic Emancipation. In the debates which followed the passing of the great Reform Bill, his name appears regularly upon the popular side." He followed Edward Cardwell as president of the society in 1833, and his last speech was delivered in March, 1835, when he affirmed "that a legislative provision for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland would be a most beneficial measure." From this opinion he never swerved, but supported it thirty-four years later, during the Irish Church debates in the House of Lords. While Robert Lowe was president of the Union, Tait defied the authority of the chair in some way, and was fined £1 for so doing. The whole thing was commemorated in a poem, written in dog-Greek. Tait appealed to the house against the fine, but the decision of the future Chancellor of the Exchequer was upheld. "It was the only occasion," wrote Lord Sherbrooke, many years afterwards, "on which I ever fined an archbishop for disorderly behaviour."

On the last day of 1833 Mr. Tait sustained another severe loss by the death of his old nurse, Betty Morton, who had watched over his infancy and boyhood with such tender love and devotion. In his journal for 1845 appears this closing entry : "*Dec.* 31, 1845, a quarter to twelve. — At this hour, twelve years ago, I sat by the bedside of almost my oldest and dearest friend. Grant that no length of years may make me forget what I owe to Thee for having given me, in infancy and childhood, when motherless and helpless, so kind and good a friend." It is pointed out, as a curious and

interesting coincidence, that three at least among the leading public men of the last generation—Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Lawrence, and Archbishop Tait—in recalling the main influences which contributed to mould their lives, assigned a foremost place to the nurses of their early years. Such devoted women deserve grateful remembrance, and Mr. Bosworth Smith, Lord Lawrence's biographer, has justly observed that "there are few ties more sacred and more indissoluble than those which unite the younger, ay, and the elder members of a family to an old and trusted nurse." On the last evening in old Betty Morton's life, she and her charge took Holy Communion together, and all night the young man sat by the old nurse's bed, speaking to her words of peace and comfort. Just as morning broke she died, with her hand clasped in his.

Tait was elected to a Balliol Fellowship in 1834, and in the following year he succeeded Moberly as Tutor of Balliol, beginning his lectures with a class which included Waldegrave, Goulburn, Lake, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Jowett, and Hugh Pearson. On Trinity Sunday, 1836, he was ordained deacon on his college Fellowship, by Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, and the ordination sermon was preached by Mr. Oakeley. He took the curacy of Baldon, five miles from Oxford, and conscientiously discharged the duties of this not very enviable or attractive charge. But he was already consumed by a noble zeal for work. He rode or walked from Oxford several times a week, usually sleeping on Saturday nights in a hired cottage, which served

for a parsonage, and returning to Balliol in time for the college service on Sunday afternoon. This he did for five years, being at the same time a busy college tutor. Indeed, before he had completed his twenty-sixth year, he became the senior and most responsible of the four Balliol tutors. Tait alternated his residence at Oxford with a residence of some months at Bonn University, where he received in turn various Oxford friends, including W. C. Lake, Arthur P. Stanley, and Edward Goulburn. Among the works which he systematically studied in 1838-39 were the following: Locke on "Toleration," Gladstone on "Church and State," Thirlwall's "Greece," Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Strype's "Memorials," South's "Sermons," Whately's "Lectures on Political Economy," Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ," Dugald Stewart's "Philosophical Dissertations," and Archbishop Secker's "Lectures." At the same time, he was giving close attention to the subject of education, and in 1839 he published a pamphlet, advocating certain changes in the professorial and tutorial system of Oxford, and instituting comparisons between the English, Scotch, and Continental systems, on all of which he was able to speak from personal experience. He likewise initiated a movement for the education of college servants, and, with three other Fellows, contributed to it liberally.

The spring of 1841, which witnessed the crisis of the Oxford movement, also brought Mr. Tait into prominence as one of its opponents. The extraordinary personal influence wielded by John

Henry Newman won over to his cause Frederick Oakeley, William George Ward, and many others; and the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" marked an era in the history of the university. The issue of the famous Tract No. 90 caused intense excitement, and Tait was one of the four tutors who publicly protested against the principles of interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles laid down in this tract. The controversy which ensued is unparalleled in modern theological annals. Dr. Newman essayed to show that the Thirty-Nine Articles were susceptible of a Roman or quasi-Roman interpretation—a point which was strongly controverted. One great result of the whole discussion was to bring clearly into light the historical fact that the Thirty-Nine Articles were, and were originally meant to be, articles of peace, conciliation, and inclusion, rather than a dogmatic and exclusive statement of the differences between England and Rome. But the author of Tract No. 90 only succeeded in showing his friends the way to Rome—a way which the writer himself soon took. The tract had not been out many days before the university was in a fever of excitement. Edition after edition followed each other with startling rapidity, and it is said that Mr. Newman realized money enough by this shilling pamphlet alone to purchase a valuable library. Four tutors of colleges came forward as the representatives of the great body of their order with a manifesto, in the course of which they stated that they were "at a loss to see what security would remain were the principles of the

tract generally recognized ; that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might now be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the university, and from the pulpits of our churches."

The four protesting tutors were Mr. Churton, of Brasenose ; Mr. H. B. Wilson, of St. John's ; Mr. Griffiths, of Wadham ; and Mr. Tait, of Balliol. Their protest was followed in a few days by a formal declaration to the same purport by the Hebdomadal Board, which at that time consisted exclusively of the heads of houses, together with the two proctors as the representatives of the body of residents. But the declaration of the board had no executive validity ; and it could only have taken effect if the board had followed up its issue by proposing in Convocation that Mr. Newman should either be deprived of his degree or be suspended from his academical functions of teaching and preaching. This form of condemnation was subsequently set in motion against Dr. Pusey and Mr. Ward, but was never applied to the author of Tract No. 90. Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, sent a message to Newman, to the effect that, in his opinion, the "Tracts for the Times" were dangerous in their tendencies, and ought to be given up. Newman at once followed the advice of his ecclesiastical superior. Mr. Tait had very little direct relation with the Tractarian movement after this time.

A great sphere of usefulness was opened up to Mr. Tait in July, 1842. The sudden death of Dr. Arnold having caused a vacancy in the head-

mastership of Rugby School, Mr. Tait became a candidate for this important post. There was a formidable array of competitors against him, including such scholars as Merivale, Kynaston, Blakesley, C. J. Vaughan, and Bonamy Price. However, on the 28th of July Tait was elected, and the appointment was generally regarded as about the best that could be made. Although, in the strict Oxford sense of the term, Tait was not a great scholar, he was well known for his high attainments in science, his knowledge of logic and rhetoric, and his intimate acquaintance with the "Ethics" of Aristotle. He had, moreover, shown large administrative capacity as dean and tutor of his college, while he had a wide experience of young men and much practical knowledge of the world.

The unique position held by Dr. Arnold among schoolmasters rendered the task of following him doubly difficult. The following entry from Tait's journal, after the announcement of his election, will show the spirit of devotion in which he entered upon his new sphere: "This day my election at Rugby has dissolved my direct connection with Balliol. O Lord, when I look back on the seven and a half years that have passed since I was elected Fellow, what mercies have I to thank Thee for! Yet how little have I improved! God be merciful to me a miserable sinner! . . . When entering on this new situation, let no worldly thoughts deceive me. The sudden death of him whom I succeed should be enough to prevent this. Grant me, Lord, to live each day as I would wish

to die. Let me view this event, not as success, but as the opening up of a fresh field of labour in Thy vineyard. Now I may look forward to dedicate my whole life to one object—the grand work of Christian education. Let me never forget that the first requisite for this is to be a true Christian myself. Give me a holy heart. Give me boldness and firmness in Thy service. Give me unfailing perseverance. Banish all indolence. Give me freedom from worldly ambition. O Lord, I have much labour before me—much to do of a secular character. Grant that this may never draw me from regular habits of devotion, without which the Christian life cannot be preserved within me.”

The new master began his work, cheered by the good wishes of Matthew Arnold and other devoted Rugbeians, and Principal Shairp and Dr. Bradley (Dean of Westminster) have since borne testimony to the excellent work which he accomplished. The appointment was justified by its results. A list of his pupils at Rugby would include many eminent names, and among them may be mentioned the late Earl of Derby, Mr. Goschen, and M. Waddington, ex-Prime Minister of France, who entered at Rugby in 1841. Tait's successful management of Rugby School was “a sufficient proof of his possession of that practical wisdom and those elements of personal popularity which justified his subsequent advancement to still higher posts.”

In June, 1843, the Head-master of Rugby was married to Catherine Spooner, the youngest daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, Vicar of Elm-

don. The union was one of singular happiness. Mrs. Tait was the loving and sympathizing partner of all her husband's labours at Rugby and at Carlisle, in London, and finally at Lambeth and Canterbury. Her life was written partly by her own hand, in the touching and tragic account which she penned for her surviving children, of the deaths of five of her daughters at Carlisle, in the spring of 1856; partly in the brief and feeling memoir written by the archbishop himself; and partly in the memorials collected at his request, after her death, in 1878, by the Rev. William Benham, and published in the well-known volume entitled "Catherine and Craufurd Tait." The domestic life of Mr. and Mrs. Tait was one of strange vicissitude, both in its joys and in its sorrows, and their heavy trials were borne with Christian fortitude and resignation. Yet the marriage was a most unexpected event. Catherine Spooner, in her girlhood, eagerly embraced the best teaching of the Evangelical party; but some years before her marriage she had come under the influence of the Oxford school, and could scarcely bear to hear it opposed or spoken against. The archbishop has himself said on this point, "She often told me how, when she heard that one of the four protesting tutors who helped to bring to a sudden close the series of the Oxford Tracts was a candidate for the head-mastership of Rugby, she earnestly hoped he would not be successful. . . . It was a strange turn of fate which made her open her heart next year to the very candidate whose success she had deprecated, and become

the happy partner of his life at Rugby, Carlisle, Fulham, Lambeth; sharing in all his deepest and truest interests, helping forward for thirty-five years every good work which he was called to promote; united to him in the truest fellowship of soul, while still tempering, by the associations of her early Oxford bias, whatever might otherwise have been harsh in his judgments of the good men from whom on principle he differed."

Dr. Tait laboured so incessantly at Rugby, that in the course of six or seven years his work began to tell seriously on his health. In February, 1848, the crisis came, when he was stricken down with a dangerous attack of rheumatic fever, from the constitutional effects of which he never entirely recovered. "Both heart and lungs were affected, and the illness soon assumed so alarming a character that for several days recovery seemed hopeless. His brothers and sisters were summoned, and he took leave of them one by one. On Ash Wednesday, March 8, it was thought that he might die at any moment. He dictated a letter of farewell to the Sixth Form, and sent special messages to many friends." To Principal Shairp the message ran, "Tell him I have perfect peace, from faith in the simplest of all truths, that Christ died for the ungodly." Imperceptibly, life began to course once more through the veins, and, to the surprise of all, the patient gradually recovered. He continued his work at Rugby for two years more, but although the school kept up both in numbers and efficiency, the strain was too much for the physical

powers of the head-master. Nevertheless, his lectures during his last year of office were said to have been the best he ever gave. But his friends trembled for his bodily welfare, and they experienced a feeling of relief when, in October, 1849, he accepted the deanery of Carlisle, offered to him by Lord John Russell.

An account of Dr. Tait's last address at Rugby has been given by Mr. Arthur Butler, in a series of most interesting reminiscences of the archbishop. "It was a perfect speech," says Mr. Butler. "After nearly forty years I can recall many of the tones and gestures with which he stirred and thrilled and carried us along, as he dwelt on the great work begun by Arnold, which he had striven, however imperfectly, to carry on. He could remember, he said, how often in old days he wished that he had been a Rugbeian, and what a privilege he felt it to have become one in his manhood. There was, indeed, a spirit in the place, from which he had learned far more than he had ever taught, and from which he had derived lessons that would abide with him during his life, and after life was over. And then he bid us remember that, after all, the welfare of the school depended mainly on ourselves, not merely the welfare which is proved by large numbers and university honours, but the higher welfare, which consists in making the school a place where God is feared and loved. In comparison with this, he said, in conclusion, perish the honours, perish the intellectual distinctions, which can be but the lot of few! It was the high tone and high character of the school which were its

real imperishable greatness, and which he prayed might long continue. Such topics were, of course, only natural on such an occasion, but it is the manner which makes the orator; and though afterwards I heard him speak most effectively, both at Exeter Hall and in the House of Lords, yet he never came up to the grace and fire and dignity of that last speech at Rugby."

Tait settled with his family in the Deanery of Carlisle, in May, 1850, and in the following month he consented to serve on a Royal Commission for inquiring into the condition of the universities. This Commission was vigorously opposed by the heads of houses at Oxford, and in Parliament by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Roundell Palmer, and Sir Robert Inglis. The Government, however, obtained a majority of twenty-two, and the Commission was issued. The Oxford Commissioners were nominated as follows: Dr. Hinds, Bishop of Norwich; Dean Tait, of Carlisle; Dr. Jeune, Master of Pembroke; the Rev. H. G. Liddell, Head-master of Westminster; Professor Baden-Powell; Mr. John Lucius Dampier; and the Rev. G. H. S. Johnson. The secretary was the Rev. Arthur P. Stanley, and the assistant-secretary Mr. Goldwin Smith. The Commission was appointed "for the purpose of inquiring into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the University of Oxford, and of all and singular the colleges in the said university." The Commission encountered numberless difficulties and obstacles, but at length, in April, 1852, it issued its report. This document, which was a remarkable one from

a literary point of view, was mainly the work of Dr. Jeune, Dean Tait, and Mr. Stanley. The aim of the Commissioners was to popularize the university, and many of the recommendations were of a searching character. Eventually, the Government of Lord Aberdeen introduced a sweeping measure of university reform, based almost entirely upon the Report of the Royal Commission, and its champion and spokesman in the House of Commons was Mr. Gladstone. The fortunes of the bill were keenly followed by Dean Tait, and it was to his profound satisfaction that it received the royal assent in August, 1854.

The people of Carlisle soon discovered a hard worker in the new dean. His activities were numberless, and while he took a prominent part in restoring the fabric of the cathedral, he manifested equal interest in the welfare of the humblest classes in the city. "The record of his multifarious labours, in matters great and small, for the good of Carlisle and its inhabitants, stands in strange contrast to what would at that time have been usually deemed appropriate to the position of a cathedral dignitary." The establishment of a daily service, the increased efficiency of the schools of the place, and the frequent presence of the new dean in the abodes of the poor, made it evident that, whatever might be the opinion of other men, at all events Dr. Tait did not regard a deanery as only another name for a well-paid sinecure.

He remained for six years at Carlisle, and during the last of those years that terrible calamity fell upon the dean's home which resulted in the loss, within

a few weeks, of five of his young children from scarlet fever. Dr. Tait was supposed to have carried the infection to the Deanery from the bedside of some sick man or woman whom he had been visiting. No one can gauge the agony of the heart-broken parents who were called to part with all their children except an infant, who had just been born, and an only son. The eldest of the dead was ten years of age, and the youngest not two. A month after the last tender babe had been laid to rest in the quiet Stanwix churchyard, the dean wrote in his diary, "O God, Thou hast dealt very mysteriously with us. We have been passing through deep waters: our feet were well-nigh gone. But though Thou slay us, yet will we trust in Thee. . . . They are gone from us, all but my beloved Craufurd and the babe. Thou hast reclaimed the lent jewels. Yet, O Lord, shall I not thank Thee now? I will thank Thee, not only for the children Thou hast left to us, but for those Thou hast reclaimed. I thank Thee for the blessings of the last ten years, and for all the sweet memories of their little lives—memories how fragrant with every blissful, happy thought! I thank Thee for the full assurance that each has gone to the arms of the good Shepherd, whom each loved according to the capacity of her years. I thank Thee for the bright hopes of a happy reunion, when we shall meet to part no more. O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, comfort our desolate hearts. May we be a united family still in heart through the communion of saints; through Jesus Christ our Lord!" The bereaved parents found consolation in a new and

still holier dedication of themselves to the work of God and of humanity.

On the 15th of September, 1856, Lord Palmerston wrote to Dr. Tait, offering him the bishopric of London; but it was understood that the appointment was made at the direct wish of the Queen. Dr. Blomfield had obtained leave to resign the see, and the Dean of Carlisle became his successor. From a northern deanery to the bishopric of London was a great step, and, in the eyes of many, a bold one. It appears that only once during the previous two hundred years had any man not already a bishop been appointed to the important diocese of London. But the promotion was not unwarranted, whether judged from the standpoint of the bishop's character or his previous labours. Still, as his biographers have remarked, it would not be possible to find another instance in the last half-century in which a man with so little previous training of a technical sort had been placed, at one step, in a position at once so responsible and so independent.

Dr. Tait, in succeeding Dr. Blomfield, followed one who was worthily entitled to the epithet of a great bishop, and this made his task all the more formidable. On the other hand, he was untrammelled by party ties, and swayed towards no extreme in the Church. New life had just at this time been infused into the Church by the energy and ability of her leading bishops, and Dr. Tait seized upon the opportunity to press into view the national and comprehensive aspects of the Church rather than the ecclesiastical. Dr.

Hook, of Leeds, well expressed the general sentiment at the new bishop's elevation, when he wrote to him as follows: "I have heard but one opinion expressed, and that is of great thankfulness. I believe the thankfulness at your appointment to arise from the conviction that you are a just man. *The* virtue which we require in a bishop, in these days of party violence, is justice. We require a just and impartial ruler; and, as you have never been a partisan, and are known to possess all the other qualifications of a good bishop, such we expect you to be." On the 23rd of November, 1856, Dr. Tait was consecrated in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, together with Dr. Cotterill, a former senior wrangler, who had been appointed to the see of Grahamstown. The consecrating bishops were Sumner of Canterbury, Gilbert of Chichester, Jackson of Lincoln, and Villiers of Carlisle. The preacher, at Dr. Tait's request, was his dear friend, George Lynch Cotton, his former colleague at Rugby, and then Head-master of Marlborough. The sermon, which created a deep impression on Bishop Tait, "set forth, in striking words, the comprehensive character of the Church of England, and the greatness of the issues before her in the conflict against sin and unbelief. The preacher dwelt with special emphasis on the growing secularism of the great towns—a fact which dwarfed into insignificance, by its very magnitude, the petty disputations about smaller things."

Bishop Tait was enthroned in his cathedral on December 4, and the following day he went to Windsor to do homage to the Queen. "The cere-

mony was imposing," he observes in his diary, "and I felt that to her kind heart I owed much. She spoke very kindly to me after the homage. . . . I was conducted by Sir George Grey into the Queen's closet—a very small room—where I found the Queen and Prince Albert. Having been presented by Sir George, I kneeled down on both knees before the Queen, just like a little boy at his mother's knee. I placed my joined hands between hers, while she stooped her head so as almost to bend over mine, and I repeated slowly and solemnly the very impressive words of the oath which constitutes the act of homage. Longley, the new Bishop of Durham, who had accompanied me, then went through the same ceremony. . . . I was afterwards sworn of the Privy Council, where I met and was introduced to most of the ministers. Lord Lansdowne said he had known my mother."

The bishop's consecration was speedily followed by that earnest service and effort which marked his life in Carlisle. He was no easy-going prelate of the *dilettante* or mere drawing-room type. It was observed of him that, to the astonishment of all who loved respectability and routine, he made his presence felt in various out-of-the-way places, now preaching in omnibus yards; now visiting the sick wards of some metropolitan hospital; now penning a summons to the faithful, both clergy and laity, to make a noble and united effort on behalf of the spiritual destitution of that great city which was the centre of his diocese. His ceaseless labours to carry the light of the gospel into the dark dwellings of the poor of London,

and to secure the erection of at least one place of worship in each district of every parish in London, and, above all, the plain-spoken zeal with which he placed this work as a duty before the wealthy classes of the great metropolis, secured for him the gratitude of religious men of the most widely divergent views. Although the bishop enjoyed anything but robust health, his diary shows him going from the House of Lords to speak to a shipload of emigrants in the docks; from the Convocation discussions on Church discipline to address the Ragged School children in Golden Lane, or the omnibus-drivers in their great yard at Islington. He preached to the costermongers in Covent Garden Market; to railway porters from the platform of a locomotive; to a colony of gypsies on the common at Shepherd's Bush, and this "without in any way relaxing the accustomed round of Confirmations, sermons, and committees, which must always occupy a bishop's time, in addition to his huge business correspondence. The very novelty of his work seemed to inspire him, for a time, with a physical strength and toughness which surprised his friends." He supported the Sunday evening services in Exeter Hall, and, in conjunction with Dean Trench and Dean Milman, he secured the opening of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral for Sunday evening services for the people. The first great service was held in the Abbey on January 3, 1858, and, on the following Advent Sunday, the dome of St. Paul's was thrown open to the public in the evening, the bishop himself being the preacher.

The vast space was densely crowded, and many thousands of persons were unable to gain admission to the cathedral. Special services for the people were also instituted in North and East London. A Diocesan Home Mission organization followed, for distinctly evangelistic work in crowded districts. It was the first organization of its kind, and was the precursor of many others with a similar object in the various English dioceses. After thirty years of continuous work, the organization employed twenty-eight missionary clergymen in London, and possessed an income of about £6000 per annum. The question of Sunday labour early attracted the bishop's attention, and he uttered a firm and outspoken protest against the increase of such labour in the metropolis; while, in a remarkable letter, he pressed upon the great omnibus companies of London the duty of a relaxation of the hours of Sunday labour for their servants.

But the bishop was likewise confronted with many grave matters in the early days of his episcopate. These included the Divorce Bill, which he supported as a necessity; the St. Barnabas' riots; the difficulty with the Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell, the Rev. Edward Stuart, and other High Church clergymen; the confessional controversy; the disturbances at St. George's-in-the-East, etc. In his treatment of these questions he acted, on the whole, in a spirit of wisdom and conciliation, and secured the approval of the community at large. On November 17, 1858, being two years after his consecration to the see,

Bishop Tait delivered his primary Charge in St. Paul's Cathedral. "That charge remains, in the memory of all who knew him, one of the greatest achievements of his life. It practically inaugurated a new order of episcopal utterances, and for a few days at least all London sang his praises. Even the outward delivery of the charge was a remarkable feat. For nearly five hours he held the attention of his hearers under the dome of St. Paul's, his steady sonorous voice reaching every ear from the beginning to the end." The charge was a bold, stirring, and original one. It did not hesitate to condemn where condemnation seemed to be called for, but its best characteristic was the promise of the new and larger work by which the bishop was trying—as a Christian statesman as well as an ecclesiastic—to throw fresh life into the Church of England, to popularize it, and to make it altogether national.

When Archbishop Sumner died in September, 1862, and Archbishop Longley was translated from York to Canterbury, Bishop Tait was offered the archbishopric of York. He was unable to persuade himself, however, that it would be right to leave London, and he wrote to Lord Palmerston, declining the offer. His decision gave great satisfaction to all who were interested in his great work in London. The publication of "Essays and Reviews" caused great pain to Bishop Tait, and his close friendship with two of the essayists made his position a difficult one. But he joined the archbishops and bishops in their censure of the rash and harmful character of the volume as

a whole, while he drew a clear distinction between the different essays. A long correspondence ensued between the bishop and Dr. A. P. Stanley and Dr. Temple. The bishop held the essays of Temple, Pattison, and Jowett to be comparatively innocuous, and he wished that they could be separated from those of Baden Powell, Williams, and Wilson. But as to the volume as a whole, he could not withhold his censure. It will suffice to state here that two of the Essayists, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, were prosecuted. They were accused of denying, either directly or by implication, the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and Mr. Wilson was accused, in addition, of denying the eternity of future punishment. The Dean of Arches held these charges to have been proved, and the accused clergymen were sentenced to a year's suspension. The defendants appealed, and in June, 1863, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—including Lord Chancellor Westbury, the two archbishops, and the Bishop of London, and Lords Cranworth, Chelmsford, and Kingsdown—delivered judgment. The court declared its powers to be strictly limited to the extracts brought before it, and on these it pronounced an acquittal. The two archbishops dissented, but Bishop Tait and the lay judges were unanimous. The decision created almost a panic among the clergy, and in a very short time the signatures of 11,000 clergymen and 137,000 laymen were obtained, protesting against the judgment. Bishop Tait was severely censured, both by clergy and laity, and it was long before the excitement died

away. Convocation condemned the volume of "Essays and Reviews," as "containing teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the United Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ." In the House of Lords, Bishop Tait, in a frank and manly speech, which drew forth the thanks of Archbishop Longley, defended the rights of the majority which had outvoted him. The case of Bishop Colenso gave Dr. Tait deep concern. He was strongly hostile to Dr. Colenso's heretical views, but intervened to procure an orderly and legal treatment of the case. Bishop Tait took a keen interest in missions, and greatly helped to extend and improve the organization of the Church in the Colonies. In matters of practice and doctrine generally in the Church, he was a friend of compromise. While opposed to needless innovations, he showed much tact and personal kindness in dealing with various controversies as to vestments and confession; and he endeavoured to play the part of mediator in regard to the difficulties at St. Alban's, Holborn, and elsewhere.

[One of his noblest claims to remembrance, however, was his establishment of "The Bishop of London's Fund"—the most memorable act of his episcopate. Dr. Tait's charge of 1862 graphically described the spiritual destitution of vast regions of the metropolis. The population of London was increasing at the rate of forty thousand souls per annum, and the efforts to provide church accommodation were wholly inadequate. There were three parishes in the London diocese each

with a population of more than thirty thousand, and only a single church; eleven parishes with more than twenty thousand for one church; and fourteen with more than fifteen thousand. In making an urgent appeal to the wealthy classes, the bishop said it was difficult to conceive what a city of between two and three millions must become, if it were not broken up into manageable districts, each placed under the superintendence of men whose mission it would be to labour in every way for the social and religious improvement of the people. The plan of the Bishop's Fund was propounded at an influential meeting held at London House, April 29, 1863, when amid great enthusiasm it was resolved to raise £1,000,000 in ten years, in furtherance of the project. The bishop himself subscribed £2000, and he issued a pastoral letter to the laity of the diocese, setting forth the objects of the Fund. These objects were nine in number, as follows: (1) Missionary clergy or additional curates, to labour in the diocese generally under the bishop's control, or to be confined in their operations to particular parishes; (2) Scripture-readers; (3) mission women; (4) clergymen's residences; (5) schools; (6) mission-rooms or school-churches; (7) endowment of old or new districts; (8) endowment of curacies; (9) building of churches. It was a bold scheme, and it enjoyed almost instant success. Nearly £100,000 were subscribed in six months. In the course of five years there was raised in connection with the Fund a sum of nearly £350,000 for the erection of churches, schools, and parsonages in the poorer

suburbs of the metropolis; more than seventy new districts were called into being, which rapidly developed into separate and endowed parishes; a whole army of Scripture-readers and mission women was established; and about one hundred clergymen were added to the permanent working staff of the diocese. In 1873, when the decennial period originally contemplated as the limit of the Fund came to an end, it was reconstructed by Bishop Jackson as a permanent diocesan institution. It had then expended £497,910, and its income was about £23,000 per annum. At the instance of Mrs. Tait, a Ladies' Diocesan Association was formed, and it was speedily doing admirable work amongst the poor, and in hospitals, penitentiaries, etc. When sisterhoods began to be established, Bishop Tait consented to become the visitor of sisterhoods in his diocese; but he was careful to impress upon the associates that not only must no perpetual oath be taken, but there must be no kind of obligation binding on the conscience without an oath to dedicate any larger time than was found conveniently compatible with other duties, to the work which the sisterhood or association promoted. He did, however, fully approve of ladies who had no home duties, and who thought they were fitted for such work, associating themselves together for the care of the poor and the sick.]

When the severe cholera epidemic visited London, in 1866, Bishop Tait manifested a spirit of Christian heroism. He had been seriously ill, and was preparing to leave London for a holiday

in July, when the cholera scourge broke out with great virulence in East London. He decided immediately to remain in London, and to take the lead in whatever measures were necessary to inspire confidence and to organize relief. A letter from him in the *Times* elicited £3000 within twenty-four hours, and the total amount subscribed was about £70,000. Mrs. Tait accompanied the bishop regularly in his visits to those stricken with the disease, and she exposed herself to the contagion again and again, together with other ladies who hastened to render service in the infected districts. The bishop, in the volume on "Catharine and Craufurd Tait," thus shows what grew out of his wife's self-denying labours: "This visitation of the cholera led to the crowning labour of her life. Mrs. Gladstone, Miss Marsh, and herself—the 'three Catharines,' as some newspaper called them—had each of them her spirit stirred to undertake the charge of some of those many orphans whom the cholera left destitute; and institutions, still vigorously at work, were the result. Mrs. Gladstone, I believe, undertook to provide for the boys. My wife hired a house at Fulham for the girls, and, by the aid of Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster, and the sisters of their 'Home,' soon established St. Peter's Orphanage, which has continued growing ever since. It cannot be doubted that the ever-present thought of her own children, whom she had lost, was an incentive to her care for these destitute little girls." The orphanage remained at Fulham for five years, providing for thirty girls. It was transferred, in 1871, to the Isle of Thanet, where a

large building, capable of holding eighty children, was erected by Mrs. Tait's exertions in the parish of St. Peter, upon a site given by the archbishop. The St. Peter's Orphan and Convalescent Homes, which owed their origin to the cholera visitation of 1866, have now become permanent philanthropic institutions.

Two months after his exertions in East London, the bishop broke down, and the old mischief in the region of the heart returned. There were also internal complications, and for some weeks his life was in danger. His recuperative power was very considerable, however, and he recovered sufficiently to complete his Charge for publication. This Charge was one of the ablest of his compositions, and was warmly commended by men like Dean Hook, who differed widely from the bishop on many points, but who merged all differences for the sake of his wise counsels. In addition to his remarkable Charges, the bishop was the author of "The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology," in which he enforced the Christian virtue of tolerance, especially in controversy ; "The Word of God and the Ground of Faith ;" and "Some Thoughts on the Duties of the Church of England." He likewise published three volumes of sermons, and contributed articles on education and kindred subjects to periodical literature. In all his writings he was "emphatic in enunciating his own positive opinions upon the Divine authority of Holy Scripture." Mr. Gladstone bore testimony to the bishop's powerful arguments and exhortations, and Bishop Lightfoot wrote on the same subject, "I thank you very much

for distinguishing what is essential and what is non-essential in Scripture. If the public mind were once impressed with that distinction, I should not fear the effect of such books as Bishop Colenso's." Dr. Tait's Charges of 1862 and 1866 dealt in a masterly manner with the ecclesiastical questions of the day: with Ritualism on the one hand, and Rationalism on the other; the desire for corporate union with those outside the Church of England; the history and character of the Church's courts; and the promotion of clerical efficiency and preaching power. When the controversy arose as to subscription, Bishop Tait was prominent among those advocates who recommended a simpler and much less stringent form. A Royal Commission, consisting of twenty-seven members, of whom eleven were laymen, reported to the same effect, and in 1865 an Act was passed giving legislative effect to a modified clerical subscription.

Voluminous was the correspondence entailed on the bishop by such widely different subjects as the "Speaker's Commentary," religious education, lay brotherhoods, and the proceedings of Father Ignatius, the resignation of the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the appointment of Dr. Stanley as Dean of Westminster, etc.; but he never shrank from any work—whether of the nature of reproof or of approval—which appeared to him necessary in the interests of the Church and of religion. At the same time, the episcopal duties of hospitality were not forgotten amid the sterner occupations of the see of London. An interesting account of the social life at Fulham shows that Mrs. Tait shared and

seconded her husband's labours as only a true woman can—never putting herself unduly forward, never interfering in matters that did not concern her, but making her life a part of his, and filling it with occupations congenial to her character and station. She was "indefatigable in her efforts to promote a kindly social intercourse between the bishop and his clergy. Her garden-parties at Fulham, at which the clergy of the whole diocese were wont to assemble, were made by her the pleasantest and not the least valuable characteristics of Dr. Tait's episcopate. They were thoroughly friendly gatherings, where every one was made to feel at ease, and where gaiety and wit were not unwelcome, even if bishops themselves were sometimes taken for a butt." There is a capital story concerning an emu, which was sent to the bishop from Australia. Mr. Benham relates that at one of these pleasant gatherings the emu was turned out into the meadows to be inspected by the guests; but the cows resented the intrusion, and gave chase to the unfortunate bird. "Halloa!" exclaimed Dean Milman, excitedly, "there goes Colenso, and all the bishops after him." It was on the same occasion that the dean saw Bishops Wilberforce and Villiers into a cab together as they drove off to some meeting. He approached them as they started, and with much solemnity of manner whispered, "See that ye fall not out by the way!"

In November, 1868, upon the death of Archbishop Longley, Mr. Disraeli wrote to the Bishop of London in the following terms, offering him the primacy: "It is my desire, if it meet your own

wishes, to recommend her Majesty to elevate you to the primacy. I can assure you, in so doing, I feel a responsibility as grave as any your lordship can experience if you accept this paramount trust ; but I believe that I am taking a course which will be the most serviceable to the Church, especially at this critical moment in its history." Dr. Tait, feeling that the offer of the archbishopric of Canterbury presented none of the difficulties which must have attended a migration from London to York, accepted the appointment. Mr. Disraeli's choice was made during his first brief tenure of the premiership, and it has always been held to have done great credit to his sagacity and freedom from party predilections in the exercise of his ecclesiastical patronage. The offer was also in accordance with the Queen's personal preference for Dr. Tait, and it gave great satisfaction to the nation at large. The new archbishop was not long in demonstrating the fitness of his selection, for he guided the Church with unfailing moderation and good sense, though he was sometimes found voting in opposition to the minister to whom he owed his preferment.

The first public question which absorbed the archbishop's attention after his elevation was that of the Irish Church. He had strongly opposed disestablishment until the country had had an opportunity of declaring its will ; but when one of the strongest Parliamentary majorities witnessed in modern times had been returned in support of Mr. Gladstone's policy, he ceased to stand forth in opposition to what was the emphatic will of

the nation. He reluctantly acknowledged the political necessity of the Irish Church Act, and strove to act as a mediator between the two parties. At the request of the Queen, Archbishop Tait and Mr. Gladstone consulted together as to the details of the measure; and, while it was passing through the Lower House, the archbishop met a number of representative peers to discuss the attitude which the House of Lords should adopt with regard to the bill. His grace recommended that the measure should be read a second time, and then materially amended in committee; but he was supported by only three peers—Lord Salisbury, Lord Stanhope, and Lord Grey. After a period of grave solicitude, the second reading of the bill was carried in the Lords, and Archbishop Tait took a leading part in securing the best possible terms for the Church in committee. When the controversy ultimately closed, and the bill became law, the archbishop received the thanks of the Queen, of Mr. Gladstone, and of the Irish bishops. Her Majesty fully recognized his “combined firmness and moderation throughout this unhappy crisis, from the second reading to the end.” Archbishop Trench, as the representative of the Irish bishops, wrote as follows: “All Irish Churchmen, if they are not vulgarly thankless, will keep a most grateful memory of all that you did, and sought to do, in aid of our Establishment while it was passing through the crisis of its fate, and I, with those others who were the immediate witnesses of your efforts, will keep the most grateful record of them all.”

Soon after this the archbishop was attacked by the most serious illness of his life. He was seized with paralysis, and for a time his life was despaired of; but, as the paralysis was functional, and not organic, he gradually recovered from its effects, and was able to resume his work in the world and in the Church. For some time there had been an agitation in favour of suffragan bishops, and, fortunately for the archbishop, in 1870 he was relieved of some portion of his heaviest duties by the appointment of a suffragan Bishop of Dover, in the person of Archdeacon Parry. The archbishop was by this step enabled to spend a winter in the North of Italy, which conduced largely to the re-establishment of his health. But before taking the journey, the primate had borne his share in the great controversy which arose over the appointment of Dr. Temple to the see of Exeter, and he had further endeavoured to calm the storm which raged over the celebration of the Holy Communion by the New Testament Revisers, in company with Dr. Vance Smith. While he had the deepest sympathy with the Old Catholics, and protested strongly against the dogma of papal infallibility, he thought it better for the Church of England not to take up a formal position in the matter, as she had long ago protested against all the errors of the Church of Rome, and not alone against the personal infallibility of the pope. The case of the Rev. Charles Voysey was one in which no compromise could be possible, and Archbishop Tait and Lord Hatherley jointly formulated an elaborate and weighty decision,

condemning Mr. Voysey on almost every point, and pronouncing sentence of deprivation against him. The judgment in the Purchas case—declaring the vestments, the eastward position, the wafer-bread, and the mixed chalice, to be all illegal—caused great excitement in High Church circles. A protest against the judgment was drawn up, which ultimately obtained 4700 clerical signatures, and it was presented to the archbishops and bishops. In his reply, Archbishop Tait pointed out that Lord Chancellor Hatherley, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and Lord Chelmsford had merely laid down what was the law, as they were bound to do. They did not make the law. But latitude would still continue to prevail in practice with regard to the rubrics. In a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Tait remarked that in minor matters clergymen did not all observe all the rubrics, and, until there was formal complaint, no harm had been done. The judgment stated the law in case it should be appealed to; but not every one was forced to be strictly rubrical. But the bishops must be ready to enforce the law in cases which were brought before them in a legal way. Archbishop Tait supported various measures of Church reform, and the amendment of the ecclesiastical courts; but he strenuously opposed Lord Selborne's Judicature Bill of 1873, which proposed to give a purely lay constitution to the Court of Final Appeal in Causes Ecclesiastical. A compromise was eventually arranged, by which it was agreed that the Court of Appeal should

be advised by bishops sitting, not as judges, but as assessors.

The archbishop was instrumental in effecting many reforms in the Church. He was also pressed again and again to take severe measures against the Ritualists ; but, whether in the House of Lords or in Convocation, he was always the consistent advocate of toleration in matters non-essential. He was no friend to harsh and irritating measures, whether against Roman Catholics or Nonconformists, but counselled on all occasions charity and peace. Although he disapproved of semi-Romanism in the Church, he did his best to promote legislation which would give a loophole of escape to Mr. Green from his imprisonment in Lancaster Gaol. Taking a profound interest in the universities, he spoke sagaciously and incisively during the debates in the House of Lords on Lord Salisbury's measures of university reform. In his charges and other argumentative documents, while leaving no room for doubt concerning his own opinions, he was scrupulously fair and just in stating the opinions of his opponents. When pleading one cause, that of temperance, he was always deeply in earnest, if not, indeed, on occasion, stern ; and, recognizing the efforts of the Salvation Army in regard to temperance and the cause of the poor generally, one of his last acts was to send a contribution to the Army through his chaplain.

During the long and painful controversy on the Athanasian Creed (1870-73), Archbishop Tait expressed himself in favour of relaxation. Writing

to the Bishop of London, from San Remo, on December 27, 1870, with reference to possible Church legislation, he spoke of "some amendment of the rubric regulating the use of the Athanasian Creed" as a matter "on which there seems to be an almost universal consent in the Church." The Ritual Commission had already almost unanimously recommended some change in the use of the Creed. Personally, the archbishop was in favour of excluding the Creed altogether from the public service of the Church, and relegating it to a position similar to that of the Thirty-Nine Articles, at the end of the Prayer-book ; but he was willing to fall in with any compromise which seemed to be generally acceptable. The archbishop was between two fires, for while Dr. Pusey and Canon Liddon threatened to resign their preferments in the Church if the Creed were degraded or mutilated, other eminent clergymen called either for its omission or for a change, making its use optional. Memorials signed by men of weight and experience on both sides were presented to Convocation. To show how strangely parties were divided on this subject, Bishop Moberly of Salisbury, a staunch High Churchman, published an earnest appeal for the omission of the damnable clauses from the Creed. At length, in May, 1873, an agreement was arrived at, chiefly through the exertions of Bishop Wilberforce, when an explanatory rubric was accepted, to the effect that the warnings in the Creed were to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture ; and that the Church did not therein pronounce judgment on

any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all. The subject of confession gave rise to another important controversy. On the 9th of May, 1873, a petition was presented to Convocation by 483 priests of the Church of England, praying for the recognition of the practice of auricular confession, and the appointment of duly qualified confessors. Some two months later the bishops unanimously agreed to a declaration condemning the confessional. The declaration was mainly the work of Bishops Wilberforce, Moberly, Wordsworth, and Archbishop Tait. Five years later the principal sentences of the declaration were adopted without a dissentient voice at the Lambeth Conference, by the hundred bishops then assembled. In 1877 great commotion was caused by the light thrown on the confessional question in a work entitled "The Priest in Absolution," a manual which was strongly condemned by all parties in the Church, including many High Churchmen. It was the archbishop's fate again to be thrown into the thick of this controversy. His efforts to grapple with excessive ritual by the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 need not be detailed here, nor the leading prosecutions arising out of the Act, as these are matters of history. Dr. Tait was as sharply censured by some for his action with regard to this question as he was warmly commended by others.

It is pleasanter to turn from these contentious matters—though mention of them is absolutely necessary in any memorial sketch of the archbishop. But such gatherings as the Church Con-

gress of 1877 show the real unity of the Church, and its all-embracing comprehensiveness. Although the ecclesiastical atmosphere was stormy, the assembly was a striking success. The Congress "set an example of harmony and order which has been happily followed ever since." In his admirable opening address, the archbishop said, "God knows, the age has its difficulties, and those very difficulties will, I doubt not, make you more ready to unite more closely in the great work which Christ has committed to this Church of England—that grand old historical Church, happily preserved to us in its distinctive features as they have come to us from the fathers of the Reformation. It is the Church for which these men died. It is the Church of Jewel, of Hooker, of Jeremy Taylor, of Barrow, of Cudworth, of Warburton—the Church of John Keble, of Thomas Arnold, of Frederick Maurice, of Charles Simeon. The Church which was good enough for all these men is good enough for us. The Church which has been honoured by so many saints of God will, I believe, go on prospering in its Master's cause, waiting for the Lord's coming, and be found ready when He comes."

Shortly before the second Lambeth Conference of 1878 the archbishop was plunged into grief by the death of his beloved son, Craufurd Tait, who had been instituted by the Bishop of London to the important vicarage of St. John's, Notting Hill. Mr. Tait had never enjoyed robust health, but it was hoped that, with extreme care, his life might be prolonged. God willed it otherwise,

however, and the earthly close of a manly, simple life came on the 25th of May. During the months immediately ensuing the archbishop missed keenly the sweet companionship which he had ever enjoyed with his son, but he bore up bravely, and discharged the duties of his high office unremittingly both at the Lambeth Conference and elsewhere. The Conference ended well, and the kindly feeling between the English and American and Colonial bishops was most marked. The final meeting in St. Paul's for the Holy Communion was very impressive; and this fraternal gathering of a hundred bishops augured well for the future prosperity of the Church at home and abroad.

Domestic joys and sorrows followed each other rapidly. On the 12th of November, 1878, Edith Tait, the archbishop's second daughter, was married to her father's chaplain, the Rev. Randall T. Davidson. But less than three weeks later the bridegroom and bride were hastily summoned from Florence to England, on account of the alarming illness of Mrs. Tait. This model wife and mother, as well as her husband's true helpmeet in the Lord, passed away on the 1st of December, thus rejoining the many loved ones whom she had lost. She left behind her a bright store of memories for her bereaved and waiting partner. But a time of anxious public solicitude for the archbishop followed. The Burials Bill of 1880, for the relief of Dissenters, and the Ritual controversy which marked the closing years of Dr. Tait's life, gave him many restless days and nights; but all through his trials and difficulties he strove to maintain the same

serene and composed demeanour ; and it is almost impossible to conceive that any other occupant of the same high position—a position unique in its onerous responsibility—could have shown more Christian courtliness and forbearance.

The close of the archbishop's busy and well-spent life came on the 3rd of December, 1882. He had been ill since the previous August, but although his friends despaired of his recovery, he rallied more than once during the ensuing months. But towards the end of November it became apparent that he was gradually sinking. His biographers give a simple but touching account of the last scene. On the morning of the 2nd of December the relatives and friends of the dying prelate were summoned to his side, as his strength seemed to be ebbing fast. He bade each a separate farewell, and then asked for the Commendatory Prayer. He gave the Benediction in a steady voice, adding, in quite his usual manner, "And now it is all over. It isn't so very dreadful, after all." A few hours later he rallied, and asked for the Holy Communion. He followed the Service carefully, and again gave the Benediction. For some hours he lay still, and the bystanders doubted whether he was fully conscious. In the afternoon Lady Ely arrived with a message of affection from the Queen. When told of it, and asked to return some message, he roused himself, and with the utmost vigour said, "No. I will see Lady Ely at once." He spoke to her, quite naturally, of his love and gratitude to the Queen. Friends offered to write down any message he

had to send, but he said emphatically, "No. I will write it myself. Give me pen and paper." Raising himself up, he tried to write the words, repeating them carefully aloud, that the watchers might write them too, as he could not guide his pen. "A last memorial of twenty-six years of devoted service. With earnest love and affectionate blessing on the Queen and her family.—A. C. CANTUAR." The archbishop spoke little after this, but he was anxious for prayers and hymns at intervals, especially the Commendatory Prayer from Bishop Andrewes, which he had always used and loved. At seven o'clock on the morning of Advent Sunday he entered into rest.

A public funeral was proposed in Westminster Abbey, but the archbishop had always desired to be buried in Addington churchyard, with his wife and son. The matter was submitted to the personal judgment of the Queen, and her Majesty decided that the wishes of the archbishop's daughters ought to be respected, and he was accordingly interred at Addington. Appropriate memorials to the deceased prelate were afterwards placed in Canterbury Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Rugby School Chapel, and elsewhere; and the decoration of Lambeth Palace Chapel, which he had begun a few years before, was completed by general subscription, while a fund was raised to promote the evangelistic agencies associated with his name. His successor in the primacy, Dr. Benson, wrote a striking epitaph for Rugby Chapel; and this briefer epitaph was written by Dean Vaughan, Master of the Temple, for Sir Edgar Boehm's

recumbent effigy in Canterbury Cathedral: "A great archbishop, just, discerning, dignified, statesmanlike; wise to know the time, and resolute to redeem it. He had one aim: to make the Church of England more and more the Church of the people; drawing towards it, both by word and good example, all who love things true and pure, beautiful, and of good report."

Archbishop Tait's life was a full and valuable one—eminent in its human ministrations and its Christian service. Personally, to those who did not understand him, he appeared rather repellent, but beneath a somewhat frigid exterior there was a warm and affectionate nature—a fact which was realized and appreciated by all who knew him well. His natural gifts, as Dean Lake has said, fitted him rather for a statesman than an ecclesiastic; but the same authority, who frequently differed from the archbishop, has also added, "When we think of the manner in which, born and bred in a different communion, he gradually learned, in a time of great difficulty, to understand and even to sympathize with all the varieties in the English Church, and of his constantly increasing determination to do justice to them all—a determination which, I believe, would have gone much further if his life had been preserved; and when we remember his strong hold on the laity, no less than upon the respect and affection of the clergy, I cannot help believing that, in the opinion of all parties, very few Archbishops of Canterbury have for centuries discharged the duties of that great post with so

much dignity, ability, and devotion." Dr. Tait fell upon a troublous time; but his earnest-hearted labours, his wide sympathies, and his catholicity of feeling have given him an enduring title to remembrance.

II.

PATTESON, THE MARTYR-
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PATTESON, THE MARTYR- BISHOP.

WHENEVER the great and noble story of Colonial Missions comes to be written, the name of John Coleridge Patteson, the Martyr-Bishop of Melanesia, will occupy a conspicuous place in the record. His loving nature and his deep Christian earnestness impressed all who knew him, whether of the white or black races. As the most remarkable of the native tributes to his memory expressed it, his character and conduct were alike consistent with the law of God. He avoided everything which could cause others to stumble or to turn aside from the good way ; his unselfish labours had their mainspring in his pitifulness and his love ; he never despised, rejected, or wounded any who sought advice or consolation at his hands ; and " whether it were a white or a black person, he thought them all as one, and he loved them all alike."

The father of Bishop Patteson was Sir John Patteson, a well-known and able Justice of the Queen's Bench, and his mother was a niece of the poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Their son was born at No. 2, Gower Street, London, on the 1st

of April, 1827. Mr. Justice Patteson was a high-minded, conscientious, and devout Churchman of the old school ; and Lady Patteson—as we learn from Miss Yonge's *Life of the Bishop*—"was equally loved for her tenderness, and respected for her firmness." Her son inherited both these qualities ; and through the April-like tempers of his youth there would always break the sun of a warm, filial affection. It is said that there was at work in him, from the first, a reverent and religious spirit, "slowly and surely subduing inherent defects, and raising him, step by step, from grace to grace." At five years of age the boy was able to read, "and on his birthday he received from his father the Bible which was used at his consecration as bishop twenty-seven years later." He early desired to become a clergyman, assigning the quaint reason that saying the Absolution to people must make them so happy. When the news arrived of the great West Indian hurricane of August 11, 1833, and of the exertions of his mother's cousin, Dr. William Coleridge, first Bishop of Barbados, he exclaimed, "I will be a bishop! I will have a hurricane!"

In 1835 Coleridge Patteson was sent to the school at Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, of which his great-grandfather and great-uncle had both been head-masters. It was one of the King's schools, endowed at the Reformation out of the ruins of older institutions. It was now under the charge of the Rev. Sidney Cornish, and for some years past it had been regarded as the principal preparatory school of the county. Patteson had

such a strong love of home that for a time school was a place of torment for him ; but he came at length to participate and delight in cricket, racing, and other healthful exercises. His sweetness and kindness to others were proverbial, while, as an example of his courage and patience, it is related that for three weeks he silently bore the pain of a broken collar-bone ; and when it was accidentally discovered, owing to his mother's embrace, he only said that "he did not like to make a fuss." At eleven years of age he was sent to Eton, where he boarded in the house of his uncle, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, one of the masters. Dr. Hawtrey was the head-master. There was a custom among the scholars at Eton of exacting money periodically for the captain of the school, to sustain him at King's College, Cambridge. The Montem of 1838 was a brilliant one, for Queen Victoria, then only nineteen, drove from Windsor Castle in an open carriage, to Salt Hill, to bestow her royal contribution. Miss Yonge furnishes an interesting incident in connection with this visit. "In the throng, little Patteson was pressed up so close to the royal carriage that he became entangled in the wheel, and was on the point of being dragged under it, when the Queen, with ready presence of mind, held out her hand ; he grasped it, and was able to regain his feet in safety, but did not recover his perceptions enough to make any sign of gratitude before the carriage passed on. He had all a boy's shyness about the adventure ; but perhaps it served to quicken the personal loyalty which is an un-

failing characteristic of 'Eton fellows.'" His brother joined him at Eton in 1840, when there were unusual festivities in celebration of the Queen's marriage.

The departure of the Rev. G. A. Selwyn for the diocese of New Zealand, in 1841, was a turning-point in Patteson's life. The boy heard the bishop's farewell sermon at New Windsor parish church, as well as the valedictory sermon by Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce, and the impression made upon him was so profound that it was never afterwards effaced. When the Bishop of New Zealand took his leave of Lady Patteson, he asked her, half earnestly, half playfully, whether she would give him Coleridge; and when her son likewise told her that it was his greatest wish to go with the bishop, she promised her blessing and consent should the wish be maintained in manhood. Alas! to the great grief of her husband and children, Lady Patteson passed away in 1842. This same year Patteson was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln, and received his first communion. At Eton he was doing well, being frequently commended for his Greek and Latin exercises and his Latin verses. In the cricket-field he was so successful that he was made one of the Eton eleven. For a time he was president of the Eton Debating Society. He had fluency and readiness of speech, but more judgment than most of his fellows. In a letter to his eldest sister, written in October, 1844, he vividly described the enthusiastic reception given by the Eton boys to King Louis Philippe, the Queen, Prince Albert,

and the Duke of Wellington. The Iron Duke was the hero of the day, and even the masters rushed into the crowd which encircled him, waving their caps, and shouting themselves hoarse like the boys. Patteson left Eton in 1845. He had gone through his school course with great credit and reputation, though his failure to obtain the Balliol scholarship was a severe disappointment.

However, he was sent to Oxford, and entered Balliol College in the Michaelmas term of 1845. Under the mastership of Dr. Jenkyns, Balliol had acquired high distinction. Principal Shairp has described Patteson at Oxford as the representative of the very best type of Etonian. "The impression left on me," he remarks, "was of quiet, gentle strength and entire purity, a heart that loved all things true and honest and pure, and that would always be found on the side of these. We did not know, probably he did not know himself, the fire of devotion that lay within him; but that was soon to kindle and make him what he afterwards became." Through three undergraduate years he laboured diligently, and his deep, continuous interest in missions found vent in his collection of subscriptions for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He obtained a second class in classics in the autumn of 1849, and then went on a foreign tour, visiting the chief cities of Europe.

Patteson was elected a Fellow of Merton in 1852, and during the same year he visited for the second time the city of Dresden, where he studied the Eastern languages, and corresponded much with his father on the apostolical succession, the mission

of the Church, and other subjects. When he returned to Merton, he entered heartily into the work of university reform, which had been fostered by the Report of the Commission in 1852. One who knew him well affirms that it was largely due to his loyal fidelity and solid common sense that the reform of Merton was carried out. Yet it was to the honour of Patteson, and equally to the honour of the older Fellows of the college, that so great an inroad upon old traditions should have been made with an entire absence of provocation on the one side, and of irritation on the other. But Patteson was not a Liberal in the political or party sense of the word. His instincts in Church matters rather drew him the other way. "His was a Catholic mind. What distinguished him was his open-mindedness, his essential goodness, his singleness and simplicity of aim. He was a just man, and singularly free from perturbations of self, of temper, or of nerves. You did not care to ask what he would call himself. You felt what he was—that you were in the presence of a man too pure for party, of one in whose presence ordinary party distinctions almost ceased to have a meaning. Such a man could scarcely be on the wrong side. Both the purity of his nature and the rectitude of his judgment would have kept him straight."

His life at Oxford terminated with the Long Vacation of 1853. He was soon afterwards ordained by Bishop Philpotts, in Exeter Cathedral, and appointed Curate of Alphington, near Ottery St. Mary. He speedily distinguished himself in

parochial work, though he experienced a shrinking from society in general which was constitutional with him. Patteson's uncle, Sir John Coleridge, thus describes the young curate's first sermon: "It was a very sound and very good one, beautifully delivered; perhaps in the early parts, from the very sweetness of his voice, and the very rapid delivery of his words, a little more variety of intonation would have helped in conveying his meaning more distinctly to those who formed the bulk of his congregation. But when he came to personal parts, this was not needed. He made a kind allusion to me, very affecting to me; and when I was in this mood, and he came to the personal parts, touching himself and his new congregation, what he knew he ought to be to them and to do for them, what they should do for themselves, and earnestly besought their prayers, I was completely overcome and weeping profusely. I thought of my sweet sister, and how she would have blessed the day had she been spared to see it. But who can say she did not? I bless God that he is what he is; and that, at least for a time, if his life be spared, I have secured his services for my poor people at Alphington. Many years I can hardly expect to retain him there; but I feel sure that, so long as he is there, he will be a blessing to them."

Patteson was very anxious to be able to preach to the poor acceptably; yet he frankly acknowledged the task of getting hold of them to be difficult. He felt that the Church teaching was sometimes represented in an unfavourable light to

many of the poor, because they heard words and saw things which awoke no response in their hearts; because they were told, ordered almost, to believe things the propriety of believing which they did not immediately recognize; because the existence of wants was implied when they had never been felt, and a system for supplying them introduced which found no room in the understanding or affections of the patient.

Miss Yonge gives the following noteworthy pen-portrait of Patteson as he appeared in early manhood: "He was tall, and of a large powerful frame, broad in the chest and shoulders, and with small, neat hands and feet, with more of sheer muscular strength and power of endurance than of healthiness, so that, though seldom breaking down, and capable of undergoing a great deal of fatigue and exertion, he was often slightly ailing, and very sensitive to cold. His complexion was very dark, and there was a strongly marked line between the cheeks and mouth, the corners of which drooped when at rest, so that it was a countenance peculiarly difficult to photograph successfully. The most striking feature was his eyes, which were of a very dark clear blue, full of an unusually deep, earnest, and, so to speak, inward, yet far-away expression. His smile was remarkably bright, sweet, and affectionate, like a gleam of sunshine, and was one element of his great attractiveness. So was his voice, which had the rich full sweetness inherited from his mother's family, and which always excited a winning influence over the hearers. Thus, though not a

handsome man, he was more than commonly engaging, exciting the warmest affection in all who were concerned with him, and giving in return an immense amount of interest and sympathy, which only became intensified to old friends, while it expanded towards new ones."

As a preacher, Patteson was laboured and metaphysical. While he had the pen of a ready writer, spoken sermons were not his forte. Church life was at a low ebb in Devonshire when he entered upon the work. After the terrible visitation of the cholera, in 1832, there was a great craving for religion, and the Dissenters stepped in and forestalled the Church with those devotional revivals which rapidly spread through the county. Patteson struggled manfully to revive Church work at Alphington; but his biographer remarks that, while he attained the stage of gaining the people's confidence and affection, and of quickening their religious life, the further work of indoctrinating them in true Church principles was yet to come when his inward call led him elsewhere.]

The Bishop of New Zealand and Mrs. Selwyn arrived in England on a visit in 1854. Their return brought back in full force all Coleridge Patteson's aspirations after mission work. But, when he had discussed the matter seriously with his friends, he acquiesced in the conclusion that he ought not to undertake foreign labour during his father's lifetime. On the 19th of August, 1854, the bishop arrived at Feniton Court, Sir John Patteson's residence. After joining in the family

welcome, "Coley"—as young Patteson was always called—"went apart, and gave way to a great burst of tears, due, perhaps, not so much to disappointed ardour, as to the fervent emotion excited by the actual presence of a hero of the Church militant, who had so long been the object of deep, silent enthusiasm." However, on the following day, in an interview with the bishop, the burning subject was discussed between them. Patteson did not disguise the fact that it was only the thought of his father which withheld him from devoting himself to the missionary career. "But if you think about doing a thing of that sort," replied the bishop, "it should not be put off till you are getting on in life. It should be done with your full strength and vigour." When Patteson related the substance of this conversation to his sister Fanny, she immediately answered, "You ought to put it to my father, that he may decide it; he is so great a man that he ought not to be deprived of the crown of the sacrifice if he be willing to make it." Thus encouraged, Patteson sought his father, and unfolded his long-cherished plan. Sir John was startled, for the immediate presence of his son was very dear to him. His first impulse was to say, "No." Going into another room, whither his daughter followed him, his great grief broke out in the exclamation, "I can't let him go!" But even as the words were uttered, he recalled them, and said, "God forbid I should stop him!"

Subsequently the matter was discussed by Sir John and the bishop. The former dwelt on all

that his son was to him in his retirement, and the probability of his own life being short. Still, he decided that he had no right to stand in his way, and, as the conversation ended, he added, "Mind, I give him wholly, not with any thought of seeing him again. I will not have him thinking he must come home again to see me." It was a great and magnanimous sacrifice, and the resolution, once taken, "was the cause of much peace of mind to both father and son." Having ascertained, as far as possible, that Coleridge Patteson had a distinct call to missionary work, Bishop Selwyn said to him, "God bless you, my dear Coley! It is a great comfort to me to have you for a friend and companion." Miss Yonge feelingly asks, "Was it not an evident call from Him by whom the whole Church is governed and sanctified? And surely the noble old man who forced himself not to withhold 'his son, his firstborn son,' received his crown from Him who said, 'With blessing I will bless thee.'"

To his little fatherless cousin, Paulina Martyn, who had always been devoted to him, Patteson wrote a simple but affecting letter of farewell. After telling her that good people and good children are cheerful and happy, although they may have plenty of trials and troubles, he thus unfolded the secret of his departure to her: "I am going to sail at Christmas, if I live so long, a great way from England, right to the other end of the world, with the good Bishop of New Zealand. I dare say you know where to find it on the globe. Clergymen are wanted out there to make known

the words of God to the poor ignorant people, and for many reasons it is thought right that I should go. So after Christmas you will not see me again for a very long time, perhaps never in this world ; but I shall write to you very often, and send you ferns and seeds, and tell you about the Norfolk Island pines ; and you must write to me, and tell me all about yourself, and always think of me, and pray for me, as one who loved you dearly with all his heart, and will never cease to pray God that the purity and innocence of your childhood may accompany you all through your life, and make you a blessing (as you are now, my darling) to your dear mother and all who know you."

And to the child's mother he wrote, "I pray God that I may have chosen aright, and that, if I have acted from sudden impulse too much, from love of display, or from desire to raise some interest about myself, or from any other selfish and unholy motive, it may be mercifully forgiven. Now, at all events, I must pray that, with a single honest desire for God's glory, I may look straight onwards towards the mark. I must forget what is behind ; I must not lose time in analyzing my state of mind to see how, during years past, this wish has worked itself out. I trust the wish is from God, and now I must forget myself, and think only of the work whereunto I am called. But it is hard to flesh and blood to think of the pain I am causing to dear father, and the pain I am causing to others outside my own circle here. But they are all satisfied that I am doing what is right, and it would surprise you, although you

know them so well, to hear the calmness with which we talk about outfits."

On the 24th of September Coleridge Patteson was ordained priest, again by Bishop Philpotts, in Exeter Cathedral, where a beautiful marble pulpit now commemorates the fact. The home circle felt the coming separation keenly, and throughout the district of Alphington there was a feeling of poignant regret. The people could scarcely forgive the Bishop of New Zealand for making a recruit of their beloved pastor, and the feeling found a half-humorous expression in the words of the village schoolmistress. "Ah, sir!" she said to Mr. Justice Coleridge, who had warmly eulogized the bishop, "he may be—no doubt he is—a very good man. I only wish he had kept his hands off Alphington." His flock called him "our Mr. Patteson" to the last. One of his female parishioners told of his ministrations to her mother, whose death-bed was the first he attended as a priest. To her he brought veritable consolation before the end. Nor was this the only instance of his effective ministration. There were "cases of rejoicing with those that rejoiced, as well as of weeping with those that wept; the child and the aged seemed alike to appreciate his goodness. In him were combined those qualities which could inspire with deep reverence and entire confidence. Many, many are or will be the stars in the crown of his rejoicing, and some owe to him, under God, their deeper work of grace in the heart, and their quickening in the divine life."

On Christmas Day the missionary-elect was

presented with a Bible, the gift of the whole population of Alphington. In his letter of acknowledgment occurred the following sentence: "If these poor needy souls can, from love to a fellow-creature whom they have known but a few months, deny themselves their very crumb of bread to show their affection, what should be our conduct to Him from whom we have received all things, and to whom we owe our life, our strength, and all that we possess?" One of these poor old parishioners likened the farewell service to a great funeral; and "many were touched when, on the First Sunday in Lent, as Sir John Patteson was wont to assist in church by reading the Lessons, it fell to him to pronounce the blessing of God upon the patriarch for the willing surrender of his son." Miss Neill, a lady who had watched and prayed over Coleridge Patteson since his childhood, but who was now a permanent invalid, wrote as follows in her diary: "On December 13 I had the happiness of receiving the Holy Communion from dear Coley Patteson, and the following morning I parted from him, as I fear, for ever. God bless and prosper him, and guard him in all the dangers he will encounter!" Miss Neill presented him with a cross, and in the course of a long and affectionate farewell letter he thanked her and said, "God grant that I may wear your precious gift, not only *on* but *in* my heart!"

Passages were taken for the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, Mr. Patteson, and another clergyman, in the *Duke of Portland*, and on the 28th of March, 1855, that vessel set sail from Gravesend. It was

decided that, on reaching their destination, Patteson was always to go about with the bishop, cruising in the Melanesian islands, so that for some years he expected to be generally six months at sea out of the twelve. For a considerable time he had been preparing for his work by the study of navigation, and likewise by a diligent study of the Maori language. After some roughish adventures at sea, the party landed safely at Auckland, on the 6th of July. Among those who soon welcomed them were Archdeacon Abraham and Judge Martin.

On the 9th the bishop and Mr. Patteson set out for St. John's College, their permanent home, if they could be said to have one, nearly six miles from Auckland. The following description of the college, by Patteson, will give some idea of the life which these self-denying men led when they were at their best, and not undergoing the fatigues and dangers of travel: "The college is really all that is necessary for a thoroughly good and complete place of education. The hall all lined with kauri pinewood—a large handsome room, collegiate, capable of holding two hundred persons; the schoolroom, eighty feet long, with admirable arrangements for holding classes separately. There are two very cosy rooms, which belong to the Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn respectively, in one of which I am now sitting. . . . On the walls are hanging about certain tokens of Melanesia, in the shape of gourds, calabashes, etc., such as I shall send you one day; a spade on one side, just as a common horse-halter hanging from Abraham's

book-shelf, betokens colonial life. Our rooms are quite large enough, bigger than my room at Feniton, but no furniture, of course, beyond a bedstead, a table for writing, and an old book-case; but it is never cold enough to take thought about furniture. . . . I clean, of course, my room in part, make my bed, help to clear away things after meals, etc., and am quite accustomed to do without servants for anything but cooking. There is a weaving-room, which used to be well worked, a printing-press (from C.M.S.), which has done some good work, and is now at work again—English, Maori, Greek, and Hebrew types. Separate groups of buildings, which once were filled with lads from different Melanesian isles, farm-buildings, barns, etc. Last of all, the little chapel of kauri wood, with stained desk, like the inside of a really good ecclesiastical building in England, porch, south-west angle, a semicircular apse at the west, containing a large handsome stone font; open seats, of course. The east end is very simple—semicircular apse, small windows all full of stained glass—raised one step, bench on the south. Here my eye and my mind rested contentedly and peacefully. The little chapel, holding about seventy persons, is already dear to me. I preached in it last night at the seven o'clock service."

The work he found to be much greater and more exacting than what fell to the lot of an ordinary parish priest in England, but it was so varied that it never became monotonous, and he soon cultivated a spirit of cheerfulness under it,

Indeed, he confessed that often at Alphington, when alone of an evening, he had experienced a greater sense of loneliness than he had ever done out in New Zealand. This he attributed to the mercy of God in strengthening him for his work. In company with the bishop, he made a long voyage in the first year of his labours, visiting Queen Charlotte's Sound, the settlements of Canterbury and Dunedin, etc. Then their vessel, the *Southern Cross*, started for Chatham Isles, dependencies of New Zealand, inhabited by Maoris. The ensuing Christmas Day was spent at Wellington, where the stay was most enjoyable, though short. Then Patteson took command of the vessel—a high tribute to his seamanship—and returned with Mrs. Selwyn to Auckland, the bishop meanwhile pursuing his journey by land. Early in the New Year (1856) Patteson had a touch of home-sickness, which was not surprising; and it was probably mingled with a little disappointment “at the arrangement which made him for a time acting-master, not to say steward, of the ship, so that he had to live on board of her, and make himself useful on Sundays, according to need, in the churches on shore—a desultory life, very trying to him, but which he bore with his usual quiet determination to do obediently and faithfully the duty laid on him, without picking or choosing.”

This first cruise among the settlements of New Zealand occupied no less than a hundred and six days. In writing to his old tutor, Edward Coleridge, after its completion, Patteson said, “The people at the various settlements are very kind

and friendly. The work is wholly new, and in many ways quite different from what I expected ; e.g. my duties as inspector of pots, pans, hammocks, etc., as purveyor of meat, bread, and vegetables, as accountant-general, and pacifier-in-ordinary of all quarrels, discontents, murmurings, etc., among sailors and officers, as tutor to two rough young colonial youths that the bishop brought back from the south, hoping the archdeacon will lick them into shape at the college." Besides all this, there was the preparation of sermons, sometimes in the Maori language. After a short stay at St. John's College, Patteson went into residence at St. Stephen's Native Institution, of which Archdeacon Kissling was then principal, and where he made rapid progress in his Maori studies.

On the 1st of May, 1856, Ascension Day, Patteson began the definite work of his life. He set sail from Auckland with the bishop, in the *Southern Cross*, and, after experiencing a circular gale or hurricane, in fifteen days they landed at Cascade Bay, Norfolk Island, after much difficulty. "Just imagine me," wrote Patteson to his sister, "such a one as I was at Alphington, alone on an island, with twenty-five Melanesian boys, from half as many different islands, to be trained, clothed, brought into orderly habits, etc. ; the report of our proceedings made in some sort the test of the working of the mission ; and all this to be arranged, ordered, and worked out by me." We next read of him at a great missionary meeting at Sydney, attended by upwards of a thousand

persons, and at which the Bishops of Sydney, New Zealand, and Newcastle were present. Then he set sail again for the Melanesian islands, visiting Norfolk Island, Anaiteum—where there was a good Presbyterian mission—and Fatè, or Sandwich, a wooded island beautiful beyond description, but with a bad character for cannibalism, and where two Samoan teachers had been murdered. Among other places visited were Mallicollo, where a terrible savage chief dwelt, and the exquisitely beautiful Santa Cruz Group of islands. Then came the Banks Group, which were ultimately to become of great importance to the mission.

The travellers returned to their work at St. John's College, in which Patteson was much interested. He had a peculiar facility in attracting the confidence of the natives, and especially the young men. As Bishop Selwyn pointed out in writing to his father, Coleridge was the right man in the right place, mentally and physically; the multiplicity of languages, which would try most men, was met by his peculiar gift; the heat of the climate suited his constitution; his mild and parental temper made his black boys cling about him as their natural protector; and his freedom from fastidiousness made all parts of the work easy to him; "for when you have to teach boys how to wash themselves, and to wear clothes for the first time, the romance of missionary work disappears as completely as a great man's heroism before his *valet de chambre*." The bishop finally remarked, in his letter to Sir John, "You know in what direction my wishes tend, viz. that Coley,

when he has come to a suitable age, and has developed, as I have no doubt he will, a fitness for the work, should be the first island bishop, upon the foundation of which you and your brother judge, and Sir W. Farquhar, are trustees; that Norfolk Island should be the see of the bishop, because the character of its population, the salubrity of its climate, and its insular position, make it the fittest place for the purpose."

Patteson had many perils to encounter in his voyagings—perils by land, perils by sea, and perils from the fierce character of many of the natives. But converts were made and baptisms celebrated, and on one occasion the young missionary spent the night in a native village where never white man had been seen before. Some of the Solomon Islanders could answer questions about Christianity as well as English Sunday school children, and other natives manifested such natural affection, gentleness, unselfishness, cheerfulness, willingness to oblige, and glimpses of high principle, as augured well for what they might become under the influence of manly virtues and Christian graces. Patteson found the people of the Nengonè Islands especially promising, and many converts were made among them. "They know more a great deal," he wrote to his uncle Coleridge, "than most candidates for Confirmation in a well-regulated English parish. It was delightful to work with them. We wrote Bible history, which has reached about fifty sheets in manuscript in small-hand writing, bringing the history to the time of Joshua; very many questions and answers, and translated

ninety pages of the Prayer-book, including Services for Infant and Adult Baptisms, Catechism, Burial Service, etc." With regard to the islands of San Christoval and Guadalcanar, Patteson printed short Catechisms, a translation of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, General Confession, two or three other of the Common Prayer prayers, and one or two short missionary prayers, in the dialect of both islands.

In the early autumn of 1857 a long Melanesian voyage was undertaken by the bishop and Patteson, who had on this occasion a valuable assistant in Mr. Benjamin Dudley, son of the Rev. B. W. Dudley, of Lyttelton, New Zealand. The descriptions of life in the New Hebrides are very graphic, if sometimes rather revolting. The Santa Cruz Group was again visited, as well as New Caledonia and the Loyalty Isles. After being nearly seventeen weeks at sea, they returned in the middle of November to St. John's College, with thirty-three Melanesians, gathered from nine islands and speaking eight languages. They were intended to furnish plenty of educational work for Patteson. "We visited," said the young missionary, "sixty-six islands, and landed eighty-one times, wading, swimming, etc.; all most friendly and delightful; only two arrows shot at us, and only one went near; so much for *savages*. I wonder what people ought to call sandalwood traders and slave-masters if they call my Melanesians savages!" At Lifu, the chief Angadhohua, a bright youth of seventeen, volunteered to join the mission party and testify to their work. "It was an unexampled thing that

a chief should be permitted by his people to leave them ; there was a public meeting about it, and a good deal of excitement, but it ended in the native Cho, as spokesman, coming forward with tears in his eyes, saying, ' Yes, it is right he should go ; but bring him back soon. What shall we do ? ' Patteson laid his hand on the young chief's shoulder, answering, ' God can guard him by sea as on land, and with His blessing we will bring him back safe to you. Let some of the chiefs go with him to protect him. I will watch over him, but you may choose whom you will to accompany him.' So five chiefs were selected as a body-guard for the young Angadhohua, who was prince of all the isle." Although many difficulties arose in the island of Lifu, openings were rapidly made here as in other places for the Church of England mission. The Melanesian expedition of 1858 resulted in upwards of fifty natives being brought away by the missionaries, in the *Southern Cross*. Great labour was thrown upon Patteson after his return, in the way of translations, and the composition and printing of books, etc., explanatory of Christian religion and doctrine.

With the year 1860 a period of comparative independence in labour began for Patteson. As St. John's College was found to be too bleak for the heat-loving native pupils, buildings were erected at the sheltered landing-place of Hohimarama. Sir John Patteson contributed liberally towards the extra expenses of this new foundation, and Miss Yonge generously gave up the proceeds of "The Daisy Chain" to the work of the mission.

These had now grown to such an amount as to make up the sum needful for erecting such buildings as were immediately requisite for the intended College of St. Andrew's. In the course of this year a mission settlement was established at Mota ; and this was the first Christian tabernacle planted in all Melanesia ! Mr. Patteson and Mr. Dudley were instrumental in effecting excellent work in the island.

The question of the consecration of Patteson as Bishop of Melanesia assumed a definite shape in 1860-61. The separation of New Zealand and Melanesia had become a necessity, and there was no one but Patteson who could be placed over the latter islands. It was finally arranged that the consecration should take place on St. Matthias' Day, February, 24, 1861, at Auckland. The consecration was not by royal mandate, as in the case of bishops of sees under British jurisdiction ; but the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, wrote, " That the bishops of New Zealand are at liberty, without invasion of the royal prerogative or infringement of the law of England, to exercise what Bishop Selwyn describes as their inherent power of consecrating Mr. Patteson, or any other person, to take charge of the Melanesian islands, provided that the consecration should take place beyond British territory." The ceremony was accordingly duly and solemnly performed on the day appointed by the three bishops of New Zealand. " It is a blessed thing," wrote the new bishop to his old tutor, Mr. Edward Coleridge, " that now three of your dear old friends, once

called Selwyn, Abraham, Hobhouse, should be consecrating your own nephew and pupil, gathered by God's providence into the same part of God's field at the ends of the earth."

Bishop Selwyn's consecration sermon contained one touching and remarkable passage. After speaking of the special import and need of the supplications of those gathered to offer up their prayers at the Holy Communion, for those who were to exercise the office of apostles, he said in words that visibly almost overpowered their subject:—

"In this work of God, belonging to all eternity, and to the Holy Catholic Church, are we influenced by any private feelings, any personal regard? The charge which St. Paul gives to Timothy, in words of awful solemnity, 'to lay hands suddenly on no man,' may well cause much searching of heart. 'I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.' Does our own partial love deceive us in this choice? We were all trained in the same place of education, united in the same circle of friends; in boyhood, youth, manhood, we have shared the same services, and joys, and hopes, and fears. I received this, my son in the ministry of Christ Jesus, from the hands of a father, of whose old age he was the comfort. He sent him forth without a murmur, nay, rather with joy and thankfulness, to these distant parts of the earth. He never asked even to see him again, but gave him up without reserve to the Lord's work.

Pray, dear brethren, for your bishops, that our partial love may not deceive us in this choice ; for we cannot so strive against natural affection as to be quite impartial."

And again, as the primate, addressing more especially his beloved son in the ministry, exclaimed, "May Christ be with you when you go forth in His Name and for His sake, to those poor and needy people!" and his eye went along the dusky countenances of his ten boys, Coleridge Patteson could hardly restrain his intensity of feeling.

Lady Martin, in describing this setting apart of the first bishop of the Melanesian Church, said that "whatever might be wanting in the beauty of St. Paul's, Auckland, never were there three bishops who outwardly, as well as inwardly, more answered to the dignity of their office than the three who stood over the kneeling Coleridge Patteson. I shall never forget the expression of his face as he knelt in the quaint rochet. It was meek and holy and calm, as though all conflict was over and he was resting in the Divine strength. . . . He was overcome for a minute at the reference to his father, but the comfort and favour of his heavenly Master kept him singularly calm, though the week before he had undoubtedly had much struggle, and his bodily health was affected." The new bishop was "the guest of the now retired Chief Justice and Lady Martin, who were occupying themselves in a manner probably unique in the history of law and lawyers, by taking charge of the native school at St. Stephen's."

Bishop Patteson began his episcopal work with energy and devotion, and so unworldly, so unselfish, and so beautiful was his nature, that the Bishop of Wellington could say of him, "Certainly he is the most perfect character I ever met." But a severe trial befell Bishop Patteson not long after his consecration, by the death of his noble, wise, and tender father. Sir John had been able to write loving and congratulatory letters to his son, one beginning thus: "Almighty God be thanked that He has preserved my life to hear from you and others of your actual consecration as a missionary bishop of the Holy Catholic Church; and may He enable you, by His grace and the powerful assistance of His Spirit, to bring to His faith and fear very many who have not known Him, and to keep and preserve therein many others who already profess and call themselves Christians." The old man prophesied that he would be dead before this letter reached his son, and this proved to be the fact. On the evening of the day when the letters from New Zealand recording the details of the consecration reached Feniton Court, Sir John read family prayers, although he had been unable to do so for some weeks past. Where in the prayer for missionaries he had always mentioned "the absent member of this family," he added, in a clear tone, "especially for John Coleridge Patteson, missionary bishop." This was the last time he ever led the household prayers. On the 28th of June, 1861, the upright earthly judge had passed into the presence of the Supreme Judge of the universe!

A sorrowful duty was imposed upon Bishop

Patteson, in the month of June, 1861. The Erromango Mission, which belonged to the Scotch Kirk, was under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon. The former had frequently warned the Erromango people that their murders and idolatries would bring a judgment upon them; and when the scourge of sickness came, as it had done at Anaiteum, they immediately connected him with it. Although he knew his life to be in danger, however, Mr. Gordon did his duty bravely; but one day he was attacked near his house by a number of natives, and slain; and when Mrs. Gordon came out of the house on hearing the loud shouts and screams, she shared the same untoward fate. Husband and wife were buried in one grave, which the natives fenced round; and on the 7th of June the bishop read the Burial Service over it, "with many solemn and anxious thoughts respecting the population, now reduced to 2500, and in a very wild condition."

When the news of his own father's death reached him, not long afterwards, Bishop Patteson bent before the blow, but thanked God for the privilege of having been loved by such a parent. His prayers and references to the sad event touched all hearts. But he looked for a reunion in heaven, and in an early letter, written to Miss Yonge, he said, "How can I grieve and sorrow about my dear, dear father's blessed end?" This letter also contained thanks for a photograph of Hursley Church spire and Vicarage, which had been taken at the wish of Dr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury). "I shall like the photograph of

Hursley Vicarage and Church, the lawn and group upon it. But most shall I like to think that Mr. Keble, and I dare say Dr. Moberly too, pray for me and this mission. I need the prayers of all good people, indeed." This incident led to a correspondence between the bishop and the saintly Keble and Moberly, which was equally prized by all.

The old missionary vessel, the *Southern Cross*, having struck on a reef and become unserviceable, in June, 1862, Bishop Patteson chartered the *Sea Breeze* schooner for a voyage of four months. This voyage was successfully accomplished, and as the bishop regarded it as the most remarkable which he had made, we quote the following passage from his letter to the Rev. J. Keble, describing it in detail: "All through this voyage, both in revisiting islands well known to us, and in recommencing the work in other islands, where, amidst the multitude of the primate's engagements, it had been impossible to keep up our acquaintance with the people, and in opening the way in islands now visited for the first time, from the beginning to the end, it pleased God to prosper us beyond all our utmost hopes. I was not only able to land on many places where, as far as I know, no white man had set foot before; but to go inland, to inspect the houses, canoes, etc., in crowded villages (as at Santa Cruz), or to sit for two hours alone amidst a throng of people (as at Pentecost Island), or to walk two and a half miles inland (as at Tariko or Aspu). From no less than eight islands have we for the first time received young people for our

school here, and fifty-one Melanesian men, women, and young lads are now with us, gathered from twenty-four islands, exclusive of the islands so long known to us of the Loyalty Group. When you remember that at Santa Cruz, *e.g.*, we had never landed before, and that this voyage I was permitted to go ashore at seven different places in one day, during which I saw about twelve hundred men ; that in all these islands the inhabitants are, to look at, wild, naked, armed with spears and clubs, or bows and poisoned arrows ; that every man's hand (as, alas! we find only too soon when we live among them) is against his neighbour, and scenes of violence and bloodshed amongst themselves of frequent occurrence ; and that throughout this voyage (during which I landed between seventy and eighty times) not one hand was lifted up against me, not one sign of ill will exhibited ;—you will see why I speak and think with real amazement and thankfulness of a voyage accompanied with results so wholly unexpected."

On returning to St. Andrew's College, the bishop baptized a number of converts, among whom were Sarawia, the first to be ordained of the Melanesian Church, and Taroniara, who was to share his bishop's death. In the six summer months the bishop was engaged with the central school work in New Zealand, where he had fifty-one Melanesians from twenty-four islands, speaking twenty-three languages ; and in the six winter months he regularly occupied the station on Mota Island. Work was attended to as well as education, and there was close training for useful

occupations. In March, 1863, the bishop was delighted by the arrival from England of his new vessel, the *Southern Cross*, the gift of his home friends. The vessel was hailed by the bishop's "boys" with vehement expressions of pride and joy. "You have a large share in her," wrote the bishop to Mr. Keble, "and she has a large share in your good wishes and prayers, I am sure." Dr. Moberly and Miss Yonge were among the other generous donors. Before the vessel could be of active service, however, a virulent epidemic of dysentery visited the islands, with which all the remedies of the medical men failed to cope. For many days the bishop went in and out amongst the wailing population, comforting the sick and burying the dead. All through this time of severe trial, four Norfolk Islanders, who were devoted to the bishop—Edwin Nobbs, Gilbert Christian, Fisher Young, and Edmund Quintal—behaved admirably.

In the following year, 1864, Bishop Patteson visited the principal Australian cities. At Adelaide Bishop Short and the diocesan synod greeted him with an address; and at the various public meetings and services a sum of £250 was raised for the benefit of the mission. The people of Victoria were most enthusiastic, and raised £350, besides giving promises of future assistance. Sydney and Brisbane responded in similar hearty fashion, and the Churches of Australia pledged themselves to bear the annual expenses of the voyages of the *Southern Cross*. In the ensuing August, Bishop Patteson visited the Santa Cruz

Islands, being accompanied by his assistants Atkin, Nobbs, Young, and Hunt Christian. They were all young fellows of great promise, earnest, affectionate, conscientious, and unselfish. An attack was made upon the party in Graciosa Bay, the natives in their canoes chasing the missionaries to their schooner, after first assailing them on land. Pearce, Nobbs, and Young were all wounded severely with arrows. Pearce was an English sailor, one of the crew of the *Southern Cross*. Although the arrows had not been poisoned, lock-jaw soon set in with Fisher Young. This brave young disciple was calm and placid in the presence of death, still loving and trusting his God. "It almost awed me," said the bishop afterwards, "to see in so young a lad so great an instance of God's infinite power, so great a work of good perfected in one young enough to have been confirmed by me." Not long before the end, the suffering youth said, "Kiss me, bishop. I am very glad that I was doing my duty. Tell my father that I was in the path of duty, and he will be so glad. Poor Santa Cruz people!" The bishop, convulsed with sobs, made the required promise, feeling that the young Christian hero would do more for the conversion of the natives by his death than ever the survivors could by their lives. While the bishop uttered the Commendatory Prayer, he passed away. The vessel soon put in at Port Patteson, where the youth was laid in a quiet spot. Patteson afterwards wrote of him to his sister, "Fisher most of all supplied to me the absence of earthly relations and friends. He was my boy; I loved him as I

think I never loved any one else. I don't mean *more* than you all, but *in a different way*; not as one loves another of equal age, but as a parent loves a child." Edwin Nobbs followed Fisher Young, likewise dying of lockjaw. His end also was peace, and after the Burial Service had been read over him, he was buried at sea.

Again, in 1865, the bishop visited Sydney, Adelaide, and Melbourne, obtaining during his five weeks' stay in Australia about £800 for the mission. The amount would have been considerably more, but there had been two years of terrible drought and destruction of cattle, and money was not abundant. A conference between Sir William Wiseman, the English commodore in the Southern Seas, and Sir John Young, the Governor of New South Wales, resulted in a gift from the latter of a tract of land on Norfolk Island to the mission, for the sake of the benefit to the Pitcairners.

While at Norfolk Island in October, 1866, Bishop Patteson received details of the death of Keble. For that eminent man he cherished a veneration that was only equalled by his feeling for Sir John Coleridge. The very thought of Keble had cheered him in many seasons of loneliness among the Melanesians. Writing to his cousin, the bishop said, "Is it not wonderful that all the wisdom and love and beauty of the 'Christian Year,' to say nothing of the exquisite and matured poetry, should have been given to him so early in life? And surely such a union of extreme learning, wisdom, and scholarship, with humility and purity of heart and life, has very seldom been found.

Every one wishes to say something to every one else of one so dear to all, and no one can say what each and all feel. We ought indeed to be thankful, who not only have, in common with all men, his books, but the memory of what he was personally to us."

Bishop Patteson was a strong supporter of the freedom of the Colonial Churches. He held that they ought to be independent and unfettered in their action. He had closely studied the question, and expressed himself thus decisively upon it in a letter to his sister: "I dare say that I write positively, too much so, about colonial questions, (*a*) because I have no time to do more than put down *results* of trains of thought; (*b*) because really it does seem to me so very clear that there is some fallacy running all through the *English* view, viz. an idea that identity with the peculiar legal position of the Church in England is a desirable and possible thing. The position of the Church as a legal body associated with the state is peculiar to England; it is the result of certain historical events which have taken place in England. You can't reproduce it in the colonies. The words of the Privy Council are quite conclusive, and our primate anticipated them for years, so they exactly suited us, and supplied exactly what we wanted. But I don't want hasty steps to be taken; only the attempt to preserve the unity of the mother and daughter Churches, through the Privy Council, an ecclesiastical system of the Church in England, rather than through the really catholic means, is a serious error."

The year 1867 brought a new departure for Coleridge Patteson, inasmuch as he now took up his abode on Norfolk Island, with a staff which included the Rev. Mr. Palmer, Mr. Atkin, and Mr. Brooke ; while there were also on the way from England the Rev. R. Codrington and Mr. Bice, a young student from St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The two latter arrived in March, and the boon to the bishop was very great ; for, in addition to the claims of the new St. Barnabas' College, there were a hundred others of a more general character. At the Christmas following the bishop ordained Mr. Palmer priest, and Mr. Atkin and Mr. Brooke deacons. Three months later the whole of the settlement was in the throes of typhoid fever. Want of cleanliness on the part of the Pitcairners, with no sewerage or ventilation, choked-up drains, crowded rooms, and a dry season, were the predisposing causes of the fever, which raged for two months, and carried off many people.

A trouble of another character followed close upon this, in the loss of the primate. The Bishop of New Zealand had been appointed to the see of Lichfield, and his departure for England caused the widest regrets and lamentations. The blow was especially keen to Bishop Patteson, who regarded himself almost as his son in the Lord, and with whom he had long held intimate fellowship. The day of parting was likened to that when the Ephesians parted with their apostle at Miletus. Yet no sooner had Bishop Selwyn set sail than Bishop Patteson began to cheer and comfort all

who were left behind. He likewise thought of the Auckland poor, and prayed Lady Martin to draw £50 a year for the next year or two, to be spent in any way she should think best. "And he put it as a gift from his dear father, who would have wished that money of his invested here should be used in part for the good of the townspeople. 'This did not include his subscriptions to the Orphan Home and other charities.'"

Returning to his own labours, the bishop and his helpers found satisfaction in the progress they were making with the people. The natives improved greatly in habits and manners, civilized customs began to prevail amongst them, and considerable numbers were baptized into the Christian faith. The college was in full working order; natives were being trained for the ministry, and by the close of 1869 very substantial gains had been achieved by the mission.

Trouble was brooding over the islands of the South, however, and it was destined to envelop the bishop himself as one of the indirect results of its far-spreading evil influence. The world has heard much of the forced toil of the black races in the growth of sugar and cotton. Queensland and the Fiji Islands demanded labour; and as the South Sea Islanders combined much of the negro toughness and docility, they became the prey of planters and speculators. While there were "kill-kill" vessels and crews, whose object was to obtain skulls, there were "snatch-snatch" vessels, whose object was to kidnap the natives of the islands. Bishop Patteson was not averse to the open employment of natives

in useful callings, being well aware how great an agent in improvement is civilization ; but to have them carried off against their will, and set to hard labour, was a very different thing. He addressed an official letter to Sir George Bowen, Governor of New Zealand, on the subject, and pointed out the necessity, as well as the humanity, of doing something to prevent the illegal deportation of natives from the South Sea Islands to the labour markets in Queensland and the Fiji Islands. He made a number of suggestions for regulating the traffic, but did not disguise the fact that imperial legislation was needed adequately to grapple with the evil.

To an English friend, Canon Norris, the bishop wrote from Norfolk Island, in February, 1871, " We are now a party of eight clergymen, including George Sarawia, of Mota Island, who is the only deacon among us ; all the rest are in priests' orders. Our Melanesians here number 145 of all ages, from, say, twenty-eight or thirty years to six months. But only three are under eight years of age, and not many under ten or twelve. Of these sixty-two are baptized, and ten or twelve will (D.V.) be baptized in a few days ; twenty-four are communicants. The trade—almost a regular slave-trade—carried on by masters of small vessels, procuring, by fair means or foul, labourers for the Queensland and Fiji plantations, is interfering a good deal with the working of the mission. Any of these natives that may be taken back to his island will be sure to do harm. Under such circumstances, the South Sea Islander acquires all

the low, vulgar vices of the worst class of white men, and becomes, of course, demoralized, and the source of demoralization to his people. Any respectable traveller among ignorant or wild races will tell you the same thing." Star Island was nearly depopulated, owing to the inhabitants being carried off; and it was no uncommon thing for the "thief-ships" to carry off forty or fifty persons from various other islands when making their illegal raids.

In the summer of 1871 Bishop Patteson set forth on his last evangelizing expedition, and by the middle of September he found himself cruising among the Santa Cruz group of islands. On one of these, the island of Nukapu, he was destined to receive the crown of martyrdom. His pupil, Edward Wogall, writing afterwards of what transpired before the morning of that fatal day, the 20th of September, said, "As we were going to that island where he died, but were still in the open sea, he schooled us continually upon Luke ii. and iii. up to vi., but he left off with us with his death. And he preached to us continually at prayers in the morning, every day and every evening, on the Acts of the Apostles, and he spoke as far as to the seventh chapter, and then we reached that island. And he had spoken admirably, and very strongly indeed to us, about the death of Stephen, and then he went up ashore on that island Nukapu."

Early on the morning of the 20th of September, the *Southern Cross* endeavoured to make for the islet of Nukapu, but in vain; so at 11.30 a.m. the

bishop desired the boat to be lowered, and he entered it with Mr. Atkin, Stephen Taroniara, James Minipa, and John Nonono. They pulled towards the canoes on the shore; but the natives did not come to meet the boat, although they recognized the bishop. On approaching the shore, two natives proposed to take the bishop into their boat; and as he had always found that entering their canoes was a sure way to disarm suspicion, he immediately complied. The tide was so low that the natives dragged their canoes across the reef to the deeper lagoon within. The boat's crew were unable to follow, but they saw the bishop land on the beach, and then lost sight of him. Soon afterwards a flight of arrows was discharged at the boat's crew, and three out of the four occupants were wounded, Stephen Taroniara fatally. "We are all hurt," said Mr. Atkin, when they reached the ship; but as soon as the arrow, which was embedded in his shoulder, had been extracted, he insisted on going back to find his bishop. Several others, including Joseph Waté, a lad of fifteen, accompanied him, but it was a long time before the tide was high enough to carry their boat across the reef.

The tragic scene which followed is thus described by Bishop Patteson's biographer—

"About half-past four it became possible to cross the reef, and then two canoes rowed towards them. One cast off the other, and went back; the other, with a heap in the middle, drifted towards them, and they rowed towards it.

"'But,' says Waté, 'when we came near we

two were afraid, and I said to Joe, "If there is a man inside to attack us, when he rises up, we shall see him."

"Then the mate took up his pistol, but the sailor said, 'Those are the bishop's shoes.'

"As they came up with it, and lifted the bundle wrapped in matting into the boat, a shout or yell arose from the shore. Waté says four canoes put off in pursuit; but the others think their only object was to secure the now empty canoe as it drifted away. The boat came alongside, and two words passed, 'The body!' Then it was lifted up, and laid across the skylight, rolled in the native mat, which was secured at the head and feet. The placid smile was still on the face; there was a palm leaf fastened over the breast, and when the mat was opened there were five wounds, no more.

"The strange mysterious beauty, as it may be called, of these circumstances almost makes one feel as if this were the legend of a martyr of the primitive Church; but the fact is literally true, and can be interpreted, though probably no account will ever be obtained from actors in the scene.

"The wounds were, one evidently given with a club, which had shattered the right side of the skull at the back, and probably was the first, and had destroyed life instantly, and almost painlessly; another stroke of some sharp weapon had cloven the top of the head; the body was also pierced in one place; and there were two arrow-wounds in the legs, but apparently not shot at the living man, but stuck in after his fall, and after he had been stripped, for the clothing was gone, all but the

boots and socks. In the front of the cocoa-nut palm there were five knots made in the long leaflets. All this is an almost certain indication that his death was the vengeance for five of the natives. 'Blood for blood' is a sacred law, almost of nature, wherever Christianity has not prevailed, and a whole tribe is held responsible for the crime of one. Five men in Fiji are known to have been stolen from Nukapu; and probably their families believed them to have been killed, and believed themselves to be performing a sacred duty when they dipped their weapons in the blood of the bishop, whom they did not know well enough to understand that he was their protector. Nay, it is likely that there had been some such discussion as had saved him before at Mai from suffering for Petere's death; and, indeed, one party seem to have wished to keep him from landing, and to have thus solemnly and reverently treated his body.

"Even when the tidings came in the brief un-circumstantial telegram, there were none of those who loved and revered him who did not feel that such was the death he always looked for, and that he had willingly given his life. There was peace in the thought, even while hearts trembled with dread of hearing of accompanying horrors; and when the full story arrived, showing how far more painless his death had been than had he lived on to suffer from his broken health, and how wonderfully the unconscious heathen had marked him with emblems so sacred in our eyes, there was thankfulness and joy even to the bereaved at home;

"The sweet calm smile preached peace to the mourners who had lost his guiding spirit ; but they could not look on it long. The next morning, St. Matthew's Day, the body of John Coleridge Patteson was committed to the waters of the Pacific, his 'son after the faith,' Joseph Atkin, reading the Burial Service."

So, when the sea gives up its dead, there will rise from the waters of the Pacific the glorified body of the Bishop of Melanesia, who followed in the train of that noble army of martyrs, led by the proto-martyr Stephen—men who walked simply and humbly with their God, and who died triumphant in the faith.

III.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

III.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

IN the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, the earnest Christian philanthropist, the world was not slow to recognize the most eminent social reformer of the nineteenth century. The Duke of Argyll thus described him in a memorable speech in the House of Lords, and the eulogy was endorsed by Lord Salisbury. The family motto of the Shaftesburys, "Love, serve," was well exemplified in the character of his life. His efforts and his influence were interwoven with many of the most humane movements of two generations. Pre-eminently the friend of the poor, the degraded, and the outcast, his generous sympathies and his ceaseless labours on behalf of the classes in whom he took so deep an interest, have given him a high place in the illustrious roll of benevolent Englishmen. The epitaph which the Eastern Rabbi desired for himself might with perfect truth be applied to Lord Shaftesbury, "Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."

Two of the earl's ancestors were men of decided gifts and intellectual power. Sir Anthony Ashley

Cooper, the founder of the family, lived in the troublous reign of Charles I., and in the outset warmly supported the Royal cause. He was a singularly able, though changeable statesman. Forsaking for a time the side of the monarchy, he embraced that of the Parliament, but subsequently reverted to monarchical principles, and materially assisted in the restoration of Charles II. Honours flowed in upon him for his services ; he received two baronies, and in 1672 was created Earl of Shaftesbury. He was afterwards successively Lord-Lieutenant of Dorset, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Lord President of the Council. It is to him that we owe that great constitutional measure, the Habeas Corpus Act. He had a restless, impulsive nature, and until recent years was much maligned. Historians now take a higher view of his character. Dryden satirized him under the name of Achitophel, but even he was obliged to admit that he was incorruptible, and it says much for the first Earl of Shaftesbury that for twenty years he was the close friend of the high-minded philosopher, John Locke. The third earl was Anthony of the "Characteristics," who has been described as "the boldest of English philosophers." The fourth earl delighted in literature, art, and music, and the celebrated composer, Handel, was his intimate friend. His successor, the fifth earl, was undistinguished in public life ; but it is a noteworthy fact that a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1808, in describing the hereditary seat of the Ashleys, St. Giles's House, near Wimborne,

speaks of the "humble dwellings, whether situated in the adjacent towns and villages, or embosomed in the shades, where the inhabitants are clothed, fed, or comforted by a benevolence that is hereditary in the Shaftesburys, and which has lost nothing of its genial glow by time or by descent." On the death of the fifth earl, in 1811, without male issue, the title and honours devolved upon his only brother, Crompton Ashley. His lordship was for forty years Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords, a fact which testifies alike to his business capacities and the high esteem in which he was held.

This Crompton Ashley, the sixth earl, married a daughter of the fourth Duke of Marlborough, and they had six sons and four daughters. Both the earl and countess lived to be upwards of eighty years of age. Their eldest son was Anthony Ashley Cooper, the seventh earl, and the subject of our biographical sketch. He was born on the 28th of April, 1801, at 24, Grosvenor Square, London. His father seems to have been too much engrossed with public life to take a real interest in his early training, while his mother was occupied with the claims of fashion and of pleasure. The boy, in consequence, soon passed under the special care of the housekeeper, Maria Willis, a pious, affectionate woman, who from the first directed his thoughts to the highest and most sacred subjects. As the character of a man is largely built up in his childhood, it is well to note this. Lord Shaftesbury has left it on record that it was to the influence of a good woman that he

owed his first religious impressions. At seven Lord Ashley was sent to a large school at Chiswick, an institution very similar to "Dotheboys Hall." Here he remained for five years, and then he was sent to Harrow, where he became a resident pupil in the house of Dr. Butler, the head-master. He had reached the sixth form when he left, and had learned very little, which he admitted was his own fault, being at that time too fond of amusement. After two years spent with a clergyman in Derbyshire, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1819, the Rev. T. V. Short, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, being appointed as his tutor. Lord Ashley—as we must speak of him until he succeeds to the earldom—worked hard at the university, but he owned that it was one of the greatest surprises in his life when he obtained a first-class in classics in 1822. Ten years later he took his Master's degree, and was created D.C.L. in 1841.

At the age of twenty-five Lord Ashley entered Parliament for Woodstock, in the Conservative interest. All through his political career, however, he assumed an attitude of independence, and although he had a brief experience of official life, he had no desire for office, the details of which were somewhat irksome to him. On entering the House of Commons, he gave a general but not a constant support to the Governments of Liverpool and Canning. His first considerable speech was delivered in 1828, in connection with the proposed provision for Canning's family, which he cordially supported. Some time before this, we find him

writing in his journal, "I have a great mind to found a policy upon the Bible; in public life observing the strictest justice, and not only cold justice, but active benevolence." Lord Ashley became known to the Duke of Wellington in 1826, and their acquaintance soon ripened into a warm personal friendship. Mr. Hodder, in his interesting biography of Lord Shaftesbury, states that in the eyes of the latter, "the Iron Duke became the ideal man. His bravery and gentleness, his honesty and consistency, his career as a man, a soldier, and a statesman, were all admired." Lord Ashley served on various Parliamentary Committees. He had high aspirations, and kept continually asking himself, "What am I fit for? I want nothing but usefulness to God and my country." In the year 1827 he paid a visit to Wales, and, as a proof of the determination of his character, he set himself to learn the Welsh language, and learnt it. The Welsh people regarded him with positive reverence, and made him both a druid and a bard.

Lord Ashley was much exercised with regard to a vocation, and felt that the time had come when a serious choice must be made. Canning offered him a post in the Government in 1827, but this he declined. However, when the Duke of Wellington came into power in 1828, he felt that he could no longer refuse office, and accepted the post of Commissioner of the India Board of Control. This appointment he held until Earl Grey became Prime Minister in 1830. "From the time of his taking this office may be dated his

interest in the teeming millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, and in general missionary work." He condemned the barbarous practice of sutteeism (the burning of widows), which was put down by Lord William Bentinck. "Do right, whatever may come of it," was the principle which governed Lord Ashley all through life. It "governed him, therefore, in relation to Indian politics. He insisted at all times, and in the most unmistakable manner, that it was the best policy of the English nation to declare emphatically that its conduct was based upon Christian principles, that everything to be done should be done in a Christian character to a Christian end, and that nothing would be gained by a time-serving forbearance of this principle." Among Lord Ashley's projects for the welfare of India, put forth during his term of office, was one for the establishment of scientific corporations for the institution and improvement of horticulture and husbandry throughout the provinces of India. Such a society already existed in Bengal, and he advocated the extension of the scheme to Madras and Bombay. Lord Ashley voted for Catholic Emancipation in 1829, because he found that the subject was always coming up, and causing endless bickerings and machinations; but while he saw the measure was necessary, he thought that Peel and Wellington ought to have allowed its original advocates to pass it. It is a matter of interest that Lord Ashley had a strong inclination to abandon politics, in the first instance for science, and afterwards for literature. But he was destined to remain in the House of Commons

for upwards of twenty years yet, and to render useful service as a legislator. He was returned for Dorchester in 1830, and for Dorsetshire in 1831, and on the latter occasion had a very unpleasant experience of the enormous expenditure involved at that time in contesting a county seat. He voted against the Reform Bill, as he was opposed to violent changes in Church and State; but he took no part in the exciting reform controversies. His antipathy to reform was based on a growing conviction that other and still more dangerous innovations must inevitably follow. He and his friends maintained that a radical alteration in the representation "would lead eventually to large and organic changes; that it would overthrow the Established Church, and destroy the independence of the House of Lords, if not altogether annihilate its existence." Lord Ashley continued to represent Dorsetshire for fifteen years. He was returned for Bath in 1847, and sat for that borough until the year 1851, when he succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father. He had a second brief experience of office in 1834-5, when he was a Lord of the Admiralty in Sir Robert Peel's Administration. Peel again offered him a post in the Government of 1841, but he declined the offer on finding that the premier's views would not allow him to support the Ten Hours Bill.

The first humanitarian work to which Lord Ashley devoted himself was the reform of the English lunatic asylums. The poor creatures shut up in "these miserable places were treated with

almost unheard-of cruelty, and the laws were powerless to get at their conductors. Many efforts were made from 1744 onwards to procure humane treatment for lunatics, but nothing substantial was achieved until 1828, when Mr. Robert Gordon and Lord Ashley succeeded in passing a law which removed many of the existing abuses. That much still remained to be done, however, was shown in the powerful novels of Charles Reade and others, who subsequently exposed the evils practised in public and private asylums. When the Lunacy Commissioners were appointed, Lord Ashley was one of those selected, and in 1829 he became chairman of the Commission, in which office he continued until his death—or a period of nearly fifty-seven years. He was no ornamental chairman, for he personally visited the asylums in London and various parts of the provinces, and insisted upon the most rigid investigation and supervision.

His deep religious convictions sought many vents. When he was only twenty-three, he determined to edit "Lord Rochester's Conversion," by Bishop Burnet, being convinced that such a narrative must achieve great good; but he found that the work had already been done. For Bishop Heber he had a profound admiration, making frequent references to him in his diary. For example: "No man ever equalled Bishop Heber. His talents were of the most exquisite character. If he were not as Socrates, able to knock down by force of reasoning the most stubborn opposers, he was like Orpheus, who led even stones and trees

by the enchantment of his music." Again, "I did well to give £100 to King's College; the sum, though large for me, is rightly laid out in erecting an embankment against the overflow of irreligion. Gave £20 for the monument to Bishop Heber. This also was well done."

Lord Ashley treated the question of marriage from the highest and noblest point of view. He made it the subject of prayer until he could be directed to the ideal woman. "If I could find the creature I have invented," he wrote on one occasion, "I should love her with a tenderness and truth unprecedented in the history of wedlock. I pray for her abundantly. God grant me this purest of blessings!" At length she came. On the 10th of June, 1830, he was married to Lady Emily, daughter of the fifth Earl Cowper, of Panshanger, Hertfordshire. She shared her husband's hopes, struggles, and aspirations for the long period of forty years, and justified the boast of her devoted husband that she was "a wife as good, as true, and as deeply beloved, as God ever gave to man."

The following personal sketch of Lord Ashley, as he appeared at this time, was given by Earl Granville, at the Mansion House Memorial Meeting in 1885: "He was then (1830) a singularly good-looking man, with absolutely nothing of effeminate beauty. He had those manly good looks and that striking presence which, I believe—though, of course, inferior by hundreds of degrees to the graces of mind and of character—help a man more than we sometimes think; and they helped

him when he endeavoured to inspire his humble fellow-countrymen with his noble and elevated nature. Those good looks he retained to the end of his life. At the time I am speaking of, he was seeking to marry that bright and beautiful woman who afterwards threw so much sunshine on his home. I remember, as if it were yesterday, how a school-fellow of mine, not knowing that he was to be the future brother-in-law of Lord Shaftesbury, told me several anecdotes of the characteristic energy, earnestness, and tenderness which Lord Shaftesbury exhibited in all the actions of his life."

Perhaps the greatest movement with which Lord Shaftesbury's name will be associated in history was that for mitigating the evils of the old factory system. He was already known as "the working-man's friend," when, in 1833, he formally devoted himself to the factory cause; and for nearly a generation he continued his efforts on behalf of a down-trodden class. The movement itself originated in 1830 with Mr. M. T. Sadler and Mr. Richard Oastler; but when the former lost his seat in the House of Commons in 1833, Lord Ashley became the Parliamentary champion of the cause. He soon acquired great influence by the earnestness of his advocacy and the fervour of his convictions. One secret of his success, and that by no means the least, he explained to his biographer. "I made it an invariable rule," he said, "to see everything with my own eyes, to take nothing on trust or hearsay. In factories, I examined the mills, the machinery, the homes,

and saw the workers and their work in all its details. In collieries, I went down into the pits. In London, I went into lodging-houses and thieves' haunts, and every filthy place. It gave me a power I could not otherwise have had. I could speak of things from actual experience, and I used often to hear things from the poor sufferers themselves which were invaluable to me. I got to know their habits of thought and action, and their actual wants. I sat and had tea and talk with them hundreds of times."

The evidence which Lord Ashley brought together concerning the treatment of children in factories, sent a thrill of horror through the length and breadth of England. Slavery in the West Indies had nothing worse to show in comparison with it. In the manufacturing districts, wages were at a starvation rate, and the children were literally worked to death—murdered by inches. Mrs. Browning, in her pathetic poem, "The Cry of the Children," did not exaggerate one whit the terrible condition of things which prevailed. Everywhere there was a terrible reality of oppression and a fearful sense of injustice, of intolerable misery and of intolerable wrongs, more formidable than any causes which ever drove people into insurrection. But although the main credit for the salutary measures which ensued rightly belonged to Lord Shaftesbury, he himself, in the preface to a volume of his speeches published in 1868, paid a generous tribute to the efforts of those who preceded him in the good work.

It was in a spirit of self-abnegation that Lord

Ashley entered upon his noble but herculean task. "To espouse the factory cause was to give up home comfort and domestic leisure; to relinquish the scientific and literary pursuits which had for him such an intense fascination." However, he laid the matter before his wife, and showed her the sacrifices which such an undertaking entailed. "It is your duty," she replied, "and the consequences we must leave. Go forward, and to victory!" Accordingly, at a meeting held under the auspices of the London Society for the Improvement of the Condition of Factory Children, an enthusiastic reception was given to Lord Ashley as the new leader of the movement. The unflagging spirit in which he entered on the campaign drew forth expressions of approval and encouragement from all quarters. Mr. J. M. McCulloch, the well-known political economist, endorsed his action, and Southey, the Poet-Laureate, wrote, "Thousands of thousands will bless you for taking up the cause of these poor children. I do not believe that anything more inhuman than the system has ever disgraced human nature, in any age or country. Was I not right in saying that Moloch is a more merciful fiend than Mammon? Death in the brazen arms of the Carthaginian idol was mercy to the slow waste of life in the factories. God bless you!" Charles Dickens, who was always a warm admirer of Lord Shaftesbury, became, towards the close of 1838, his pronounced ally on the factory question.

In pursuance of his resolve to obtain information first hand, Lord Ashley went down into the factory

districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, to investigate for himself the condition of the operatives. Describing his visit years afterwards, he said, "In Bradford especially the results of long and cruel toil were most remarkable. The crippled and distorted forms might be numbered by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. A friend of mine collected a vast number together for me; the sight was most piteous, the deformities incredible. They seemed to me, such were their crooked shapes, like a mass of crooked alphabets." While the factories were fearfully unhealthy for all, accidents thinned the ranks of the workers. The sympathetic nature of Lord Ashley was stirred to its depths, and in 1833 he tried to get Parliament to pass a Bill for regulating and shortening the labour of children in the factories, and for protecting them against maltreatment. Little or nothing was done, however. All kinds of difficulties were thrown in his way, and when the first and most important clause in the measure had been rejected, he felt compelled to give up the Bill. The Ministry went on with it; but, as finally passed, the Act was a poor measure, though it did establish the great principle that labour and education should be combined. In 1838 Lord Ashley showed by statistics that fifty-five per cent. of those working in factories were females; that children were found travelling twenty miles a day to and from the mills; that in the factory districts as many persons died under twenty years of age as under forty in any other part of England; that in Manchester half the population died under three years

of age; and that sixty clergymen had testified to the vicious and awful condition of the factory districts.

At this period we obtain glimpses of Lord Ashley's religious activities. We find him presiding at town and country meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and taking an active part in the formation of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society, of which he was for many years the moving spirit, and whose claims he advocated for nearly half a century. With many other earnest Protestants, he was alarmed by the spread of Roman Catholicism, and he also strongly opposed a proposal to disburse the education grant through a Committee of Council. He regarded the measure as hostile to the Church of England, and declared that he would never consent to any plan that should sever religious from secular education; and by religious education, he meant the full, direct, and special teaching of all the great and distinctive doctrines of the Christian faith as taught by the Church of England. The Duke of Wellington, who held similar views, thus expressed himself in a letter to Lord Ashley, written in May, 1839, "I will subscribe in every diocese with which I have any relation, provided it is to establish schools really and *bonâ fide* under the exclusive superintendence and direction of the clergy of the Church of England. I must subscribe, if so required by law, and pay for the establishment of schools, established on the principles of the Minutes and Orders of Council, under the superintendence of the Com-

mittee of Council. But I will not subscribe, or, unless compelled by law, pay one farthing towards the establishment of such systems."

Baron Bunsen, writing in his diary under date, February, 1839, says, "Ashley took me to a meeting whose tendency and significance made that day one of the most important of my life. He, and Sandon, and others desire a lay union for the extension of Church rights, in order to call upon all lay Churchmen of England to stand up for two points, one that the people shall have a regular religious education in parish and commercial schools; the second, that the schools shall be under the clergy, directed by a diocesan board, consisting of clergy and gentry, under the bishop." Bunsen also referred to Lord Ashley's work among the thieves and in the ragged schools. On one occasion, together with the City missionary, Mr. Jackson, he met two hundred and seventy thieves at their own wish, to consult with them as to the means they could adopt in order to lead better lives. It was thus that he gained the hearts of the poor and the unfortunate in an almost unexampled manner. Nor must it be forgotten here how his sympathies were enlisted in the abolition of slavery, and on more than one occasion he was moved to indignation because those who defended the system endeavoured to apologize for its evils on the ground that many slaveholders were "pious men."

It was through the exertions of Lord Ashley that a Commission was appointed in 1840, to inquire into the employment of women and children in

mines and collieries. With reference to this, the second branch of his lordship's great remedial work, the report of the Commissioners was one of the saddest and most melancholy documents ever submitted to Parliament. It was shown that children were consigned by their parents almost from the cradle to perpetual labour, at an employment entailing on them premature adolescence, disease, misery, and amid scenes which ensured a moral degradation even worse than the physical suffering which accompanied it. With regard to the women, it was further established that they were compelled to work like beasts of burden in noisome caves where the sun never entered, surrounded by an atmosphere of vice and pollution which could hardly be depicted with decency, and under circumstances of coarse and loathsome exposure, to which savage life scarcely afforded a parallel." In June, 1842, Lord Ashley moved for leave to introduce a Bill founded on the Commissioners' report, and restraining the frightful evils complained of. It now seems incredible that such cruelties as he described could ever have been inflicted or borne in a Christian country. Women and children were harnessed with chains, like animals, in trucks, and pursued their labour under the most galling and painful conditions. "In the West Riding of Yorkshire," said Lord Ashley, "it is not uncommon for infants of even five years old to be sent to the pit. About Halifax and the neighbourhood, children are sometimes brought to the pits at the age of six years, and are taken out of their beds at four o'clock. Bradford and Leeds the

same ; in Lancashire from five to six. Near Oldham, children are worked as low as four years old ; and in the small collieries towards the hills some are so young that they are brought to work in their bedgowns." Similar details came from Scotland and Wales, and it is not surprising that in these hotbeds of suffering and horror all forms of disease and vice were rampant. The House of Commons was amazed and indignant at the harrowing facts laid before it. Lord Ashley proposed, by way of legislative provisions—first, the total exclusion of female labour from all mines and collieries in the country ; secondly, the exclusion of all boys under thirteen years of age ; thirdly, the exclusion of all males under twenty-one years of age as engineers, youthful engineers being a fertile cause of accidents ; and fourthly, the abolition of apprenticeship. After the adoption of a few slight amendments, this truly benevolent and salutary measure passed into law.

In one of his speeches, Lord Ashley quoted an excellent old Scotchwoman, Isabel Hogg, as saying, " Collier people suffer much more than others. You must just tell Queen Victoria that we are quiet, loyal subjects. Women-folk don't mind work here, but they object to horse work ; and the Queen would have the blessings of all the Scotch coal-women if she could get them out of the pits, and send them to other labour." Prince Albert sent a message after Lord Ashley's most important speech in the House of Commons, expressive of his own sympathy and the Queen's, adding that he had read every syllable of it to the Queen who

was particularly pleased with the message to herself from Isabel Hogg. The Prince Consort also wrote to Lord Ashley as follows: "I have been highly gratified by your efforts, as well as horror-stricken by the statements which you have brought before the country. I know you do not wish for praise, and I therefore withhold it, but God's best blessing will rest with you and support you in your arduous but glorious task. It is with real gratification I see in the papers the progress which you made last night. I have no doubt but that the whole country must be with you—at all events, I can assure you that the Queen is, whom your statements have filled with the deepest sympathy."

Domestic incidents of an important nature occurred at this time. The first was a reconciliation with his father, between whom and himself there had been a sad estrangement for many years. It arose from no fault of Lord Ashley's. Mr. Hodder has well observed, on this head, that "there had never been much sympathy between them—thoughts, habits, pursuits, ideals, were all far as the poles asunder—and the course that Lord Ashley had marked out for himself had, from the first, met with the strong disapprobation of his father. It was a source of anxiety and regret, but it was a matter for which there was no help. Believing, as he did, that it was the voice of God which spoke to him and urged him to go forward in his labours on behalf of the poor and the oppressed, he 'conferred not with flesh and blood,' and the consequence was that the coldness of his father strengthened into an opposition very painful to a nature so sensitive as Lord Ashley's."

Happily, a reconciliation was effected towards the close of 1839, and we find the philanthropist writing in his journal on November 23, "I can hardly believe myself or my senses; here I am in St. Giles's, reconciled to my father, and actually receiving from him ardent and sincere marks of kindness and affection! Who would have thought, not I at least, when I quitted this house ten years ago, that I should never return to it until I came a married man with six children! But it is a blessed thing that it has happened at last; a thing good for him, and good for me, a thing for which I ought, and for which I do, thank God most heartily. He is now an old man, and it would have been a sad and a terrible matter had he died otherwise than in peace with his children; but God be praised, we are reconciled, and his heart and mine are lighter." The removal of the burden of grief which had long oppressed him made this a time of rejoicing for Lord Ashley.

Another important event was the marriage of his wife's mother to Lord Palmerston. Lady Cowper was one of the queens of society, clever, brilliant, and witty; and after her marriage with Lord Palmerston, her assemblies formed a neutral meeting-ground for distinguished men of all parties in Church and State. Lord Beaconsfield once made some apposite allusions to the fact that in England we do not, as a rule, permit our political opinions to interfere with our social relations. He added, "I remember some years ago meeting, under the hospitable roof of one of the most accomplished women of the time, the most cele-

brated diplomatist of nearly half a century, and he said to me, 'What a wonderful system of society you have in England! I have not been on speaking terms with Lord Palmerston for three weeks, and yet here I am; but you see I am paying a visit to Lady Palmerston.'

From fashionable salons to the sorrows of climbing-boys is a deep social descent, but, unfortunately, splendour and misery jostle each other all through the world. As early as 1760, humane men had advocated the cause of little chimney-sweeps. Owing to the efforts of Jonas Hanway and others, in 1788 Parliament was induced to pass an Act forbidding master chimney-sweeps to have more than six apprentices, or to take them under eight years of age. But this was all that was done for nearly fifty years. Early in the present century, there was formed a "Society for Superseding the Necessity for Climbing Boys," which numbered amongst its supporters the Prince of Wales, William Wilberforce, Stephen Lushington, and others. After many abortive attempts to secure protection for the boys from Parliament, the subject was referred to a Select Committee in 1817, and its report was a catalogue of horrors. It showed that children of a suitable size were stolen for the purpose, sold by their parents, inveigled from work-houses, or apprenticed by Poor Law Guardians, and forced up narrow chimneys by cruel blows, by pricking the soles of the feet, or by applying wisps of lighted straw. Sydney Smith wrote a terrible indictment against the inhuman masters in the *Edinburgh Review*. Then, in 1834, an Act was

carried with stricter clauses for insuring that no apprentice should be employed under ten years of age ; and it was made a misdemeanour to send a child up a chimney on fire, for the purpose of extinguishing it, as had frequently been done. Penalties were imposed for ill-treatment of other kinds. But Lord Ashley and his friends were resolved upon still further measures, and in 1840 an Act was passed punishing with fine all who should "compel, or knowingly allow, any one under the age of twenty-one years to ascend or descend a chimney, or enter a flue, for the purpose of sweeping or cleaning it." Apprentices were to be over sixteen years of age. "The labours of Lord Ashley in Parliament were, as a rule, the least part of his work on behalf of any cause he espoused ; and it was so in the present case. He went to see the climbing-boys at their work ; he confronted the masters ; he ascertained the actual feeling of employers ; he took legal proceedings at his own expense as 'test' cases, and even made provision for life, in certain instances, for the poor little sufferers whom he was able to rescue from their living death."

He did all this from real kindness of heart, and because it was true Christian work. When he was offered an important office by Sir Robert Peel in 1841, he declined it, in order to pursue his benevolent factory labours. "The sacrifice he thus made," said the author of the "History of Factory Legislation," "can only be appreciated by those who best understood the pecuniary position of this noble-minded man. He had at that time

a large and increasing family, with an income not equal to many of our merchants' and bankers' servants, and a position, as the future representative of an ancient and aristocratic family, to maintain. By this step, political power, patronage, social ties, family comforts, nay, everything that was calculated to forward the ease and comfort of himself, and in some degree of his family, were laid down at the feet of the factory children." When he had declined one post, he was pressed to accept an office in Prince Albert's household. This, also, Lord Ashley declined. To show the burning zeal of the man, here is an extract from his journal, preceding another in which he states that he has been the guest of the Queen: "What a perambulation have I taken to-day in company with Dr. Southwood Smith! What scenes of filth, discomfort, disease! What scenes of moral and mental ill! Perambulated many parts of Whitechapel and Bethnal Green, to see, with my own eyes, the degradation and suffering which unwholesome residences inflict on the poorer classes. No pen or paint-brush could describe the thing as it is. One whiff of Cow Yard, Blue Anchor, or Baker's Court, outweighs ten pages of letterpress. And yet the remedial bills for ventilation, drainage, and future construction of the houses of the poor, brought in carefully and anxiously by the late Government, are not to be adopted by *this*! So I was informed this evening. and I blessed God that I formed no part of it."

But while active at home, religious matters abroad deeply interested him, and in 1841 he was

one of the principal movers in the negotiations for the establishment of an Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem. It was a matter that excited the keenest interest in religious circles. Two influential societies of the Church of England were already doing good work in Palestine, namely, the Church Missionary Society and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. Protestant Germany, represented by the King of Prussia, now went hand-in-hand with England in the institution by the English Church of a bishopric at Jerusalem, to include all Protestant Churches in the Holy Land within its pale, so far as they should be disposed to accept the inclusion. The king offered a princely sum towards the endowment, and it was proposed that the bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem should be nominated alternately by the Crowns of England and Prussia, the Archbishop of Canterbury having the absolute right of veto with respect to those nominated by the Prussian Crown. The bishop was to be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury as his metropolitan, and Germans intended for the charge of Protestant congregations were to be ordained according to the ritual of the English Church, and to sign the Articles of that Church. Chevalier Bunsen conducted the negotiations for the King of Prussia, and to the great joy of Lord Ashley, the bishopric was founded, and Dr. Alexander, a converted Jew, who had taken English orders, was consecrated the first bishop. In 1883, on the death of the third bishop (Dr. Barclay), who had been

appointed by England, no successor was named. Prussia withdrew from the agreement in 1886; and since 1887 the see has been a missionary bishopric of the Church of England exclusively. At the time of the institution of the bishopric of Jerusalem, the Tractarian controversy was in progress, and Lord Ashley took a prominent part in it against Dr. Newman and his friends.

Education was a subject in which Lord Ashley took a keen interest. In one of the most impressive of his Parliamentary addresses on this question, he enforced the necessity of promoting the blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes. He showed that there were no fewer than 1,014,193 children capable of education, and yet under no kind of educational influence. In the county of Lancaster alone, the annual expenditure for the punishment of crime was £604,965, while the annual vote for education in all England was only £30,000. The evils of the truck system, the payment of wages in public-houses, and the miserable state of workmen's dwellings, were clearly demonstrated. All these things made it impossible for a father to practise that morality of which he should be an example to his children. Lord Ashley's revelations led the Government of the day to institute educational reforms.

In 1844 a fierce controversy began to rage round the Ten Hours movement, which had become a great and burning question. Indeed, this factory reform and the Anti-Corn Law agitation were the most pressing social topics of the time. The Ten Hours question had gone through many phases,

and it now threatened to wreck the Government of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Ashley laboured earnestly in the cause of the operatives, and was ably seconded by Mr. Fielden. Little by little the philanthropists obtained what they wanted, and Lord Ashley lived to see the day when those who had bitterly opposed his crusade personally thanked him for his efforts. He had taken up a task which seemed quite hopeless, and his unwearied exertions greatly interfered with his home life and his domestic happiness. But Lady Ashley cheered him in his laborious undertaking, and, as some recognition of her husband's efforts on behalf of the factory operatives, the countess was presented with his bust, in marble, on the 6th of August, 1859. On that memorable occasion, 7000 persons, belonging to the Manchester manufacturing district, insisted upon kissing Lord Shaftesbury's hands.

An entry in Lord Shaftesbury's diary for 1846 reads as follows: "*Feb.* 28.—Night before last took chair at Young Men's Christian Association. Four hundred persons to tea; a very striking scene—young shopmen, with their mothers and sisters, attending really in a religious spirit. Last night presided in Covent Garden Theatre, at anniversary of Metropolitan Drapers' Association, for early closing of shops. Both these societies have their origin in the Ten Hours' movement."

In February, 1843, Lord Ashley's eye fell upon an advertisement in the *Times*, headed "Ragged Schools." It related to the Field Lane Sabbath School, Saffron Hill, opened in 1841 for the instruction of those who, from their poverty or ragged

condition, were prevented from attending any other place of religious instruction. The school was under the superintendence of the district missionary of the London City Mission, and its treasurer was Mr. S. R. Starey, who a short time afterwards founded the Ragged School Union. "I never read an advertisement with keener pleasure," said Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Hodder, on one occasion. "It answered exactly to what I had been looking and hoping for, and I could not regard it as other than a direct answer to my frequent prayer." He at once identified himself with this noble movement, and his name became inseparably connected with the formation and extension of ragged schools. He was the life and soul of the enterprise, and was fully alive to the necessity for laying hold of the waifs and strays of our great cities before they could be manufactured into hardened criminals.

But the task before the reformers was appalling. Field Lane, which lay not far northward from the foot of Holborn Hill, was one of the most disreputable localities in London, and the scene of violent outbreaks and disorders. Charles Dickens thus described his visit to the scene of Lord Ashley's new philanthropic labours: "I found my first Ragged School in an obscure place called West Street, Saffron Hill, pitifully struggling for life under every disadvantage. It had no means; it had no suitable rooms; it derived no power or protection from being recognized by any authority; it attracted within its walls a fluctuating swarm of faces—young in years, but youthful in nothing

else—that scowled Hope out of countenance. It was held in a low-roofed den, in a sickening atmosphere, in the midst of taint, and dirt, and pestilence; with all the deadly sins let loose, howling and shrieking at the doors. Zeal did not supply the place of method and training; the teachers knew little of their office; the pupils, with an evil sharpness, found them out, got the better of them, derided them, made blasphemous answers to Scriptural questions, sang, fought, danced, robbed each other—seemed possessed by legions of devils. The place was stormed and carried over and over again; the lights were blown out, the books strewn in the gutters, and the female scholars carried off triumphantly to their old wickedness. With no strength in it but its purpose, the school stood it all out, and made its way. Some two years since I found it quiet and orderly, full, lighted with gas, well whitewashed, numerous attended, and thoroughly established.”

Only the firmness and earnestness of Lord Ashley and his friends, however, supported as they were by simple Christian faith, could have effected a reformation in the London slums. Sometimes they carried their lives in their hands, and into certain places only the police dared to venture. Even they were in companies, and strengthened with arms. It is stated that in one district in Marylebone there were three hundred families found herding in one hundred and nineteen houses, young and old alike having the characteristics of savages. The purlieus of Drury Lane were equally bad, and in Wild Court nearly a thousand persons

actually existed in fourteen houses. The life there was too horrible to be depicted, and there are still benighted districts in the metropolis which would almost vie with it. Ratcliff Highway and Bluegate Fields were the synonym for all that was vile and abandoned. As was naturally to be expected, juvenile crime increased at a rapid rate, and the cry arose for either more schools or more prisons. It seemed impossible to tell where to begin upon this mass of degradation and vice, and when the first advertisement appeared in connection with the pioneer enterprise, the Field Lane Ragged School, no doubt there were many who smiled over what looked like a quixotic undertaking. But Lord Ashley was as persevering as he was energetic, and according to his wont he set himself personally to examine into the condition of the classes he sought to benefit. The results of his investigations were published in an article which he contributed to the *Quarterly Review* in 1846. There he dealt fully with the question of the danger threatened to the State by the criminal classes, who were increasing at a fearful rate. Referring to the younger portion of these classes he described them as "bold and pert and dirty as London sparrows, but pale, feeble, and sadly inferior to them in plumpness of outline." Holborn, the Strand, Whitechapel, Spitalfields, Lambeth, and Westminster, all had their swarms of these evil and precocious children. "The stranger dives into the recesses from which they seem to issue, and there he sees, before and behind, on the right hand and on the left, every form and

character of evil that can offend the sense and deaden the morals." In thousands of cases children merely came up and perished as vermin: the districts in which they were born reeked with filth and abominations of all kinds. The influence of their surroundings upon the young was shown in the fact that 14,887 persons under twenty years of age were arrested in London during the year 1845. Yet one who could have taken his ease, like many others of his class, "scorned delights and lived laborious days." He voluntarily explored the rookeries of the great metropolis, going in and out among the abandoned classes and endeavouring to save them. Nor did he neglect the agricultural labourers while striving to better the lot of the factory operative and the city Arab. He called for reforms on his father's Dorsetshire estates, and exhorted all wealthy landowners and farmers throughout the country to give up some of their luxuries, so that the labourers and their families might enjoy more comforts, better dwellings, and higher wages.

Sufferers abroad also were not forgotten, for Lord Ashley secured diplomatic interference on behalf of the persecuted Nestorian Christians, and he made a most eloquent appeal in Parliament on behalf of the oppressed Ameers of Scinde.

In his campaigns at home, Lord Ashley was misunderstood even by men like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, who opposed his factory legislation on commercial and other grounds; but he stood manfully to his guns; sought strength from a higher Power; and in the end men came to

endorse his action, and to admit that he had been right. When he was most in peril of defeat in the House of Commons, he thus boldly and admirably defended his policy, and predicted its triumph: "So long as there shall be voices to complain and hearts to sympathize, you will have neither honour abroad nor peace at home, neither comfort for the present nor security for the future. But I dare to hope for far better things—for restored affections, for renewed understanding between master and man, for combined and general efforts, for large and mutual concessions of all classes of the wealthy for the benefit of the common welfare, and especially of the labouring people. Sir, it may not be given to me to pass over this Jordan; other and better men have preceded me, and I entered into their labours; other and better men will follow me, and enter into mine; but this consolation I shall ever continue to enjoy—that, amidst much injustice, and somewhat of calumny, we have at last lighted such a candle in England as, by God's blessing, shall never be put out."

Mr. Lalor Sheil, the eloquent Irish orator, paid a just tribute on one occasion to Lord Ashley, after the latter had made a powerful speech for the more humane treatment of lunatics. "There is," he said, "something of a *sursum corda* in all that the noble lord says. Whatever opinion we may entertain of some of his views, however we may regard certain of his crotchets, there is one point in which we all concur—namely, that his conduct is worthy of the highest praise for the motives by which he is actuated, and for the sentiments by

which he is inspired. It is more than gratifying to see a man of his high rank, not descending, but stooping from his exalted position, in order to deal with such subjects—not permitting himself to be allured by pleasure or ambition but impelled by the generous motive of doing good, and by the virtuous celebrity with which his labours will be rewarded. It may be truly stated that he has added nobility even to the name of Ashley, and that he has made Humanity one of Shaftesbury's *characteristics*." This well-deserved tribute was received with loud applause from all sides of the House.

Here is a touching picture from Lord Ashley's journal of a visit paid by the noble philanthropist to one who had grown grey in the service of poor humanity: "*March 17, 1844.*—Minny and I saw Mrs. Fry yesterday on the bed of sickness. Kissed her hand to show my respect and love. That woman has, assuredly, been called to do God's work, and love her blessed Lord and Master. May He yet spare her for further service, and then take her to Himself." Elizabeth Fry's service on earth, however, was nearly over, for she died in the following year.

In the year 1845 Lord Ashley was again pressed to take office, and there was some talk of his accepting that responsible post, the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. The temptations to take that post were very great, and Lord Ashley was extremely popular with the great body of the people. But he resisted all offers, and devoted himself this session to relieving the hardships of the children employed in calico print works. Of course, he

again met with opposition; but, as he forcibly said, "My opponents, on the first introduction of the Ten Hours Bill, sent me to the collieries. When I invaded the collieries, I was referred to the print works; from the print works I know not where I shall be sent, for can anything be worse? Sir, it has been said to me more than once, 'Where will you stop?' I reply without hesitation, 'Nowhere, so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains to be removed.'" This was a memorable answer, full of the spirit of moral heroism, and deserving to be written in letters of gold. He persevered with the Print Works Act, and carried his measure. "Although it did not remove all the evils, it mitigated many, and the condition of the children was mitigated thereby."

Lord Ashley strongly opposed the Government endowment of Maynooth College, and his views were shared by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Fox Maule, and others. The College of Maynooth was intended for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood and the laity. Lord Ashley had supported Catholic Emancipation, "but he drew a strong distinction between the persecution and the patronage of Roman Catholics. Of the latter, now (1845) and always, he was a consistent and determined opponent." He delivered a telling speech against the Maynooth Bill, yet while he abated not a jot of his Protestant principles, a Roman Catholic member remarked that "if all Protestants would so speak, and choose him for their leader, it would raise a more fearful enemy to Roman Catholicism than any other way." Mr.

Disraeli said of the same speech to Lord Ashley himself, "I think it quite a duty to tell you what an effect your speech has produced. I have spoken to-day to all kinds of persons, from Crockford's up to the Bank, and have heard but one voice. You have hit out a line of action and argument,—great conciliation, with *steady and full assertion of Protestantism*." The bill was carried by a combination of Conservatives and Liberals.

The meeting of the Jews Society in May, 1845, was one of exceptional interest. Excellent news was constantly arriving from Jerusalem of the good work being accomplished by the bishop and his noble band of coadjutors. Everything seemed full of hope, and Lord Ashley was supported at the meeting by Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Chester (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury); Sir Thomas Baring; the Revs. E. Bickersteth, Hugh Stowell, T. S. Grimshawe, Hugh McNeile, and Dr. Marsh, etc. Yet before the year closed, those whose eyes turned with hope to the Holy Land were plunged in gloom by the unexpected death of Bishop Alexander. Lord Ashley wrote respecting this melancholy event, "*Dec. 15th.*—Just received, in a letter from Veitch, the examining chaplain, intelligence of the death of the Bishop of Jerusalem at Cairo. I would rather have heard many fearful things than this sad event; it buries at once half my hopes for the speedy welfare of our Church, our nation, and the children of Israel! What an overthrow to our plans! What a humbling to our foresight! What a trial to our faith! Alas! this bright spot, on which my eyes, amidst

all the surrounding darkness, confusion, and terrors of England, have long been reposing, is now apparently dimmed."

During this same year Lord Ashley brought forward in the House of Commons two new and comprehensive measures dealing with lunatics and lunatic asylums. Their objects were respectively "For the Regulation of Lunatic Asylums," and "For the Better Care and Treatment of Lunatics in England and Wales." It was proposed by the first measure to establish a permanent commission, and thereby secure the entire services of competent persons; while other provisions gave the power of more detailed and more frequent visitations, fixed the limit of expenses, placed all asylums under proper regulations, provided additional securities against the improper detention of pauper patients, directed inquiries into acts of violence or injury, enforced an immediate private return of all single patients received for profit, etc., etc. The second measure proposed to extend the system of county asylums, by providing that their erection should be compulsory, that the existing accommodation should be increased, where necessary, and that separate buildings should be provided for chronic cases. The bills passed into law, and they have been described as the "Magna Charta of the liberties of the insane." The permanent Lunacy Commission was established, with six paid commissioners, but Lord Ashley became unpaid Chairman of the Commission, and retained the office until the close of his life—a period of forty years. Great reforms were gradually effected in the treat-

ment of the insane ; and it is no exaggeration to say that since the year 1845 a complete revolution has been witnessed in the management of public and private asylums.

Early in 1846 Lord Ashley resigned his seat in Parliament. He had been returned as a Protectionist by the electors of Dorset, but he had now become convinced of the necessity for abolishing the Corn Laws, in consequence of the terrible potato famine in Ireland. He deemed it only right to give back his trust under these changed circumstances. So, having reintroduced his Ten Hours Bill into Parliament, and committed the charge of it to his staunch coadjutor in the movement, Mr. Fielden, he retired from the House of Commons, in which he had been so conspicuous a figure for nearly twenty years. He now occupied himself in visiting the factory districts, and spoke in all the large towns. The fall of the Peel Ministry was to him a good omen, as Lord John Russell and several members of his Government, were pledged to the principle of the Ten Hours Bill. The ultimate triumph of that hotly-contested measure was now assured. Lord Ashley paid a third lengthy visit abroad in 1846, and manifested his profound interest as usual in the Welfare of Protestant Christianity on the Continent. On his return, he found from the papers that Ireland was in a fearful condition, bordering upon general starvation, and he and his family deprived themselves of all luxuries as a means of aiding in the alleviation of the distress.

The London City Mission greatly occupied his

thoughts at this period. It had been established about ten years before by David Nasmith, who had successfully founded similar institutions in Glasgow, Dublin, New York, etc. At a little house in Canning Terrace, on the banks of the Regent's Canal, Nasmith met two of his friends by appointment, and the story of their interview has thus been told: "After prayer, we three founded the London City Mission, adopted our constitution, assigned offices to each other, and after laying the infant mission before the Lord, desiring that He would nurse and bless it, and make it a blessing to tens of thousands, we adjourned." This noble movement prospered mightily, and Lord Ashley threw himself heart and soul into it. He devoted his leisure to visiting the homes and haunts of the poor in the Metropolis, choosing for his companions a medical man and one of the mission workers. He went into the most fearful dens—dens where even doctors preferred to write their prescriptions outside—and he acquired the most extraordinary influence over the wretched occupants. "He saw in the miserable creatures before him," says Mr. Hodder, "not thieves and vagabonds and reprobates, but men with immortal souls that might be saved, and with human lives that might be redeemed from their corruption." But it was the children towards whom he was most drawn. "The words of the Master were ever ringing in his ears, 'Feed My lambs.' Often had his voice been like the voice of God speaking to the heart of a little child. It was always through the children that he hoped to win the parents. As

the shepherd with refractory sheep will carry the lambs into the fold, certain that eventually the sheep will follow, so his efforts were mainly directed to reaching the children, and to putting them in places of safety, as the surest means of alluring their parents thither. And no man ever received greater encouragement from visible results."

A great work was done among the street Arabs, and hundreds of them were assisted to emigrate. Lord Ashley once told the House of Commons how 1600 of these street Arabs had been placed under examination, with the following sad results: "162 confessed that they had been in prison not once nor twice—many of them several times; 116 had run away from their homes, the result, in many instances, of ill-treatment; 170 slept in lodging-houses—nests of every abomination that the mind of man can conceive; 253 confessed that they lived altogether by begging; 216 had neither shoes nor stockings; 280 had no caps, hats, bonnets, or head covering; 101 had no linen; 219 never slept in beds—many had no recollection of having ever tasted that luxury; 68 were the children of convicts; 125 had stepmothers, to whom may be traced much of the misery that drives the children of the poor to the commission of crime; 306 had lost either one or both parents, a large proportion having lost both."

There is something pathetic in this description of the habits of the unfortunate children: "Many of them retire for the night, if they retire at all, to all manner of places—under dry arches of bridges and viaducts, under porticoes, sheds, and carts; to

outhouses ; in sawpits ; on staircases ; in the open air, and some in lodging-houses. Curious indeed is their mode of life. I recollect the case of a boy who, during the inclement season of last winter, passed the greater part of his nights in the iron roller of Regent's Park. He climbed every evening over the railings, and crept to his shelter, where he lay in comparative comfort. Human sympathy, however, prevails even in the poorest condition ; he invited a companion less fortunate than himself, promising to 'let him into a good thing.' He did so, and it proved a more friendly act than many a similar undertaking, in railway shares."

Lord Ashley visited every detachment of Emigrant boys before it left the shores of Old England, and some of his farewell addresses to the boys on the eve of their departure "are worthy of being written in letters of gold, so full are they of tender fatherliness and Christian love." In one address, he besought his listeners to remember, when far away, the faces of those they had last seen in England. The recollection might help them in times of temptation. He also besought them to work laboriously and conscientiously, and concluded with these solemn words. "If there is any one single thing which, more than another, tends to make a man feel great, it is that he is answerable for his own conduct to God and to society at large. You are going across the water. I have no doubt but we shall soon hear that you have got employment. Whatever your duty or circumstances may be, *never forget prayer*. You may rise to high stations ; they are open to you there as here

Whatever success you may meet with in this world—and we heartily wish you may meet with great success—still, my lads, never forget the greatest ambition of the Christian is to be a citizen of that city whose builder and maker is God ; and though we may never meet together again on earth, may we all at last meet together there.”

Sad and touching were Lord Ashley's experiences among the ragged boys of London. An illustration of their low state of morality and their utter shamelessness he instanced by what passed one evening at a Ragged School : “ Fourteen or fifteen of these boys presented themselves one Sunday evening, and sat down to the lessons, but as the clock struck, they all rose and left, with the exception of one who lagged behind. The master took him by the arm, and said, ‘ You must remain ; the lesson is not over.’ The reply was, ‘ We must go to business.’ The master inquired, ‘ What business?’ ‘ Why, don't you see it's eight o'clock ! We must go catch them as they come out of the chapels.’ ”

The following story is told of a City Missionary, who had endeared himself by his kindness to the whole of a wretched district, and especially to the younger population : “ One evening, having put on a new coat, he went about dusk through a remote street, and was instantly marked as a quarry by one of these rapacious vagabonds. The urchin did not know him in his new attire—therefore, without hesitation, relieved his pockets of their contents. The missionary did not discover his loss, nor the boy his victim, until in his flight

he had reached the end of the street. He then looked round, and recognized in the distance his old friend and teacher. He ran back to him breathless. "Hullo," said he, "is it you, Mr. ——? I didn't know you in your new coat; here's your hankerchief for you.'"

In the year 1848 Lord Ashley had a strange experience among the adult thieves of London. Thomas Jackson, an earnest City Missionary, had been appointed to the Rag Fair and Rosemary Lane district, where he became known as the thieves' missionary. He was in their confidence, and through him Lord Ashley was brought into contact with them. The thieves welcomed his lordship's idea of emigration. "It would be a capital thing for chaps like us," was their unanimous opinion. Forty of the most notorious thieves and burglars in London signed a round robin to Lord Ashley, praying him to meet them. He did so without fear or hesitation. Accompanying Jackson to the place of meeting, he found himself in the presence of about four hundred desperate characters, from the swell-mob, in black coats and white neckcloths, to the most fierce-looking, rough, half-dressed savages. Some of the most experienced thieves were stationed at the door to prevent the entrance of any but known thieves, as they were afraid of being betrayed. Out of the four hundred there were about two hundred hardened burglars, who lived by the greatest crimes. Lord Ashley addressed them kindly, but firmly, and promised to befriend them. But, as his lordship afterwards said, he first encouraged them to speak.

"A number of the men then gave addresses, and anything more curious, more graphic, more picturesque, and more touching, I never heard in my life; they told the whole truth, without the least difficulty, and, knowing that they were there to reveal their condition, they disguised nothing." With one accord, the men said they desired to lead better lives, and they were filled with gratitude when Lord Ashley told them that at any time they might apply to him for aid. Many of them got away from their hateful surroundings, and began a new and happier life in Canada and the United States.

Lord Ashley's attitude as a Parliamentary candidate was shown at the election for Bath in 1847. In his address to the electors, after enumerating the social reforms he intended to advocate, he pledged himself to maintain "the great principles of the Constitution in Church and State—those great principles which, ever since the Revolution of 1688, have been recognized and cherished by the people of these realms—the Crown, the bishops, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and every institution ecclesiastical and civil." The other candidates were Lord Duncan and Mr. Roebuck, the latter of whom had wealthy capitalists on his side. Lord Ashley had to contend against calumny and vituperation. He was also a stranger to the electors, whereas Mr. Roebuck had been connected with the constituency for fifteen years. Yet he fought on, and even declined to allow banners, processions, and ribands; he was resolved that if he triumphed, it should be a triumph of prin-

ciples. He was returned at the head of the poll, the numbers being—Ashley, 1278; Duncan, 1228; Roebuck, 1093.

During the period of great revolutionary upheaval in 1848, Lord Ashley was sent for by the Queen to Osborne. The Chartist demonstrations at home, and the Revolution in France and the exile of Louis Philippe, had seriously alarmed Her Majesty and the Prince Consort. "They feared the continuance of commotions in England," wrote Lord Ashley in a memorandum at the time, "and were desirous to know how they could exercise their influence to soothe the people. The Queen, on my arrival, expressed this sentiment very warmly, and added at dinner, 'The Prince will talk to you to-morrow. We have sent for you to have your opinion on what we should do in view of the state of affairs to show our interest in the working classes, and you are the only man who can advise us in the matter.'" On the following day, being requested to speak out freely by the Prince, Lord Ashley replied, "Sir, I would say that, at this juncture, you hold a position in which you can render to the country far greater assistance than if you were its king. You can speak as a king, represent a king, without the necessary and inevitable restrictions of a king. Your presence, though formally different, is virtually the presence of the Queen. My earnest advice to you is that you should put yourself at the head of all social movements in art and science, and especially of those movements as they bear upon the poor, and thus show the interest felt by royalty in the

happiness of the kingdom." By way of a commencement, his lordship recommended the Prince to take the chair at the anniversary meeting of the Labourers' Friend Society on the 18th of May, first accompanying Lord Ashley on an inspection of some of the dwellings of the poor. The Prince fell in with the suggestion at once, but the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, vetoed it for a time. However, the Prince persevered, and on the appointed day went with Lord Ashley to some of the squalid districts of St. Giles's, entering house after house, and being received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. A socialist agitator remarked to a Church evangelist in the district, "If the Prince goes on like this, why, he'll upset our apple-cart." At the public meeting afterwards, the Prince Consort made a sympathetic speech, and one which, as Sir Theodore Martin says, "first fairly showed to the country what he was." From this time forward, until his lamented death, the Prince Consort interested himself in all movements affecting the welfare of the people.

Under the Public Health Act, 1848, a Central Board of Health was constituted, and it was Lord Ashley's duty, as Chairman of this Board—ably assisted by sanitary reformers like Dr. Southwood Smith and Mr. Edwin Chadwick—"to initiate a series of reforms, and to undertake labours almost unprecedented, especially in connection with the visitation of cholera, which, in 1849, swept from London, in the course of a few weeks, no fewer than four thousand souls." Meantime Lord Ashley was earnestly pursuing his labours in re-

gard to the emigration of the criminal classes, to which references have already been made. As one result of his pleadings, a grant of £1500 was made by the Government for the purpose of an experimental trial of the scheme. Friends also came to his aid, and although he was still crippled for want of adequate funds, Lord Ashley vigorously pushed forward his emigration project, and his efforts were crowned with success. Not a boy ever went away from England without receiving the Christian advice and prayers of his benefactor. In a very short time Lord Ashley, and those who were associated with him in the work, had got hold of ten thousand children, snatched from the vortex of London. But the task was a very uphill one, and it was only the indomitable spirit of Lord Shaftesbury which prevented the movement from collapsing. Speaking so lately as 1883, on the subject of the Ragged Schools Union, his lordship said, "For thirty-nine years I have been president of this grand institution, and I have not missed one anniversary." Then, after dwelling on the necessity for the work, he added, "Did we not, during the palmy days of the Ragged Schools, pick up from the streets some 300,000 boys and girls, all of whom, if they had not been taken up, would have been found before long among the dangerous classes?" This army of children became good and industrious citizens, entering into trade and domestic service in England and the Colonies. One letter which Lord Ashley received, from a poor girl who had emigrated, was endorsed by the receiver, "Very precious to me, this letter."

It told of a reclaimed, useful, and honourable life, and it was typical of many others. An extraordinary coincidence may be mentioned here. Among those who assisted Lord Shaftesbury in his colonizing scheme were two persons connected with the Ragged Schools, named Locke and Gent. Two hundred years before, a *Shaftesbury* was instrumental in colonizing Charleston and Carolina. He obtained assistance from the illustrious *Locke*, and, to facilitate the working of the scheme, the services of a *Mr. Gent* were secured.

Lord Shaftesbury said it would break his heart if ever the Ragged School work fell through. Happily, there is no danger of this. At a meeting of friends of the Ragged School Union, held in November, 1892, Mr. Charles Steinitz, Vice-Chairman of the Council, stated that there were some 4000 voluntary teachers then operating from 214 centres in the poverty-stricken districts of London, and that no fewer than 100,000 children were being influenced weekly.

Lord Ashley's unresting labours began to tell upon his health at last, and early in 1849 he was compelled to rest for a while. But as soon as he was able, he pushed forward his scheme for the subdivision of parishes, in which he received support from the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was opposed in the Commons, but carried by 111 to 18. A Commission was duly appointed, and it was soon working well and harmoniously.

In the following June a severe trial befell Lord Ashley, by the death of his second son, Francis, a sweet, gentle boy, of a deeply religious spirit.

His resignation and triumph, even in death, touched his parents to the quick. After his body had been laid to rest, Lord Ashley turned to his labours again, and we find him writing, "Work of the 'ragged' kind recalls his image so vividly, and his dear words of sympathy and approval, how could I please him more were he alive, or more, if he be cognizant of what is passing, than by endeavouring to please God in seeking the welfare of those forlorn lambs of our Master?"

England was thrown into a ferment in 1850, by the publication of a papal bull, appointing two Roman Catholic Archbishops, and twelve bishops for Great Britain, with territorial districts distinctly marked out. A strong Protestant feeling was aroused, under the stress of which Lord John Russell introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, declaring the papal bull null and void, and imposing a fine of £100 on all who should try to carry it into effect. Lord Ashley strenuously supported the measure, whose first reading was carried by the extraordinary majority of 395 to 63. A ministerial crisis delayed its passing, but it was finally carried in the session of 1851. As a protest against papal assumption and aggression, the Act was valuable, but legislatively it proved a dead letter. It was repealed in 1871, though the illegality of the titles was again explicitly affirmed. Although Lord Ashley was the most fervid speaker against the papal claims, both in and out of Parliament, he was tolerant in speech and manners to the Roman Catholic laity, with whom he sometimes co-operated in social movements, as when

he assisted that excellent woman, Mrs. Chisholm (who was a Roman Catholic), in her emigration scheme.

A new philanthropic movement enlisted Lord Ashley's sympathies at this time, in the Shoeblack Brigade. It had its origin in a suggestion made by "Rob Roy" Macgregor in 1850, in view of the Great Exhibition of the following year. He thought that the ragged boys of London might be utilized in cleaning the boots of the myriads of foreigners who were sure to visit England, and his prescience was justified. During the continuance of the exhibition, 25 boys cleaned 101,000 pairs of boots, for which the public paid £500. But though the movement began in this comparatively small way, it so prospered that in a few years from its foundation it numbered 306 members, who earned nearly £12,000 in twelve months. The movement was intended to be a remedial and auxiliary one. In 1882 as many as 1619 new members entered the brigade in London, while 1584 left the ranks, 600 of them having been placed out in suitable situations. The Reformatory and Refuge Union was another benevolent organization in which Lord Ashley took a deep interest. The Union prospered until, at the time of its noble supporter's death, it had 589 homes, with accommodation for nearly 50,000 inmates. It was owing to the intervention of Lord Ashley that Lord Palmerston introduced his Bill for the Care and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. Sanitary reform and the health of the people were also the objects of his ceaseless solicitude. Again and again, from the delivery of his

speech on the Public Health Bill in 1848, he called attention to these questions ; and on one occasion, in addressing the House of Lords, he affirmed that the horrible state of our towns, and the condition of the dwellings of the people, lay at the root of two-thirds of the disorders which afflicted the country. He insisted that good drainage, good ventilation, good and healthy houses, and an ample supply of good water, would not only go far to extinguish epidemics and reduce fevers, but would have a great influence upon the moral habits of the population. He also encouraged window gardening, to beautify the homes of the poor, and to give them an interest in life.

Lodging-house reform was another matter in which he rendered essential service, and among the measures passed by the Legislature at his instigation, was a very necessary one for the registration and inspection of common lodging-houses. The general consensus of opinion on this measure was so strong that it passed without opposition. Dickens described Lord Shaftesbury's Common Lodging-House Act as the best piece of legislation that had ever proceeded from the English Parliament ; and there is no doubt that it effected a thorough reform where reform was urgently needed.

Lord Ashley lost his father in 1851, and after their second estrangement it was a matter of deep joy to the former that he was able to reach St. Giles's in time to be with the old man in his final moments, and to close his eyes. Death ends all feuds and misunderstandings. By the passing away of his father, Lord Ashley became the

seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. "And now," he wrote, on the day of his father's funeral, "I bear a new name, which I do not covet; and enter on a new career, which may God guide and sanctify. If I can by His grace make the new as favourably known as the old name, and attain under it but to the fringes of His honour and the welfare of mankind, I shall indeed have much to be thankful for."

A meeting took place this year between the peer-philanthropist and Wright, the prison-philanthropist. Lord Shaftesbury described the meeting years afterwards to the members of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association, when he warned them against false pride, and exhorted them not to be ashamed of their trades. "Many of you," he said, "must have heard of a remarkable man of the name of Thomas Wright of Manchester. He visited prisoners. He was engaged all day long in a small establishment acting as foreman, covered with oil and grease and everything else. The first time I ever saw Thomas Wright was at Manchester. I was staying with my friend, the great engineer, Mr. Fairbairn. He said to me, 'You have heard of Thomas Wright? would you like to meet him?' I said, 'Of course I should, beyond anything.' 'Well, then, we shall have him to dinner.' So we asked him to dinner; we three together. In came Thomas Wright, and had I not known who he was, I should have said he was the most venerable doctor of divinity I ever looked upon. His hair was white; his expression was fascinating; he was dressed in black. We passed

the evening, and then we went to church. Two or three days afterwards, we said we would go and see Thomas Wright. We knocked at the office door, and a man in a paper cap and an apron covered with grease, opened it. I passed in, and I said, 'I want to see Thomas Wright.' 'I dare say you do,' he said. 'Here I am.' Then I said 'Bless you, my good fellow; never was I so impressed in my life before, as I am now with the true dignity of labour.' There was that man, covered with grease, and wearing his paper cap. When his work was over, he doffed his cap, washed his face, put on his black clothes, and away he went to prison, to carry life and light and the gospel of Christ to many broken and anxious hearts."

At the close of 1851 Lord Shaftesbury took a solemn review of his career, and asked himself three questions. To the first of these, "What have I gained for the public?" he supplied the following answers: 1. Seventeen years of labour and anxiety obtained the Lunacy Bill in 1845, and five years' increased labour since that time have carried it into operation. 2. Seventeen years from 1833 to 1850, obtained the Factory Bill. The labour of 300,000 persons, male and female, has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full 40,000 children under thirteen years of age attend school for three hours every day. 3. A Commission moved for in 1841 reported in 1842, and in 1843 passed a bill to forbid the labour of females in mines and collieries. 4. In 1845 passed a bill to regulate and limit labour of women and

children in print-works. 5. Had main share (though the honour went to another) in preparation of Interment Bill, and carrying it through the house. 6. Address and grant of Royal Commission for Subdivision of Large Parishes. Result yet to be tried. 7. Two years of intense labour, without pay, on Board of Health, specially in season of cholera, and lately on water supply to metropolis. 8. Say nothing, perhaps, of failures, though they were intended for public service, and received some approbation—motions on Opium Trade, Poor Laws, Education, and Sunday post-office deliveries; nor of share taken in general debates on subjects of vital interest. 9. This for Parliament. Out of it have spared no trouble or expense (and both have been excessive) for Ragged Schools, Model Lodging-houses, Malta College, Emigration Committees, and meetings on every imaginable subject. To the second question, "What gained for the cause of our blessed Master?" he made reply as follows: "Perhaps we may rejoice in an awakened attention, though but partially so, to the wants and rights of the poor; to the powers and duties of the rich; perhaps, both in Parliament and out of it, in a freer, safer use of religious sentiment and expression; perhaps in an increased effort for spiritual things, and in greatly increased opportunities for doing and receiving good." To the third question, "What gained for myself?" he replied, "Peace of mind, but nothing else." Money and power he had not gained, and his fame was attacked by various classes of men. He had come to the con-

clusion that, whatever his weaknesses, whatever the human admixture with his former hopes and fears, the desire to do good for good's sake should henceforward be his sole sustaining motive.

When Lord Shaftesbury went to the Upper House he found a complete change from the Commons. Everything was cold, formal, and dignified, whereas in the Lower House all had been warmth, life, and energy. But he was not long before he roused the Lords to take an interest in matters hitherto regarded as extraneous; he relaxed neither his legislative nor his philanthropic efforts.

As soon as his first session in the Peers was over, Lord Shaftesbury went down to the family estates in Dorsetshire, and there also he at once began to initiate reforms. He appointed a Scripture-reader to go in and out among the poor, and he limited the public-house disorders in the village of St. Giles by closing the tap-room at nine o'clock every night. Radical changes in the management of the estates were introduced. He found many of the cottages filthy and unwholesome, and though his means were limited, and there were debts on every hand, he resolved to build new dwellings. He put a stop to the evils of the truck system, and insisted upon the better cultivation of the farms. He determined to spend no money upon his own house until he had effected some improvement in the cottages of his tenants, nor until he had cared for the village house of God, which had suffered sadly from neglect. Meantime, he found it painfully difficult to refuse appeals made to him

in the belief that he was rich. "It was impossible for him to explain that fresh liabilities were arising on all sides, absorbing every farthing yielded by the estates, and that expenses innumerable, taxes, and labour, had to be met out of borrowed money. So he sorrowfully left St. Giles's for a time, the better to benefit it at a later period. But all the time he went on planning garden allotments, erecting parish schools, forming societies and cricket clubs for the labourers, and in many other ways furthering the interests of his tenants and neighbours. At the same time we find him roused to action in behalf of some poor persecuted Protestants in Naples, and now moved to the depths by the revelations in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's tragic work of fiction, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

For a professed philanthropist to receive a challenge to a duel is a singular circumstance, yet this actually occurred to Lord Shaftesbury in 1853. The affair arose out of the Juvenile Mendicancy Bill. In the course of a speech in the House of Lords, Lord Shaftesbury had cited the judgment of Lord Eldon in the case of William Pole Tylney Long Wellesley (Lord Mornington), in order to show that the proposed detention of children whose parents were immoral was nothing new in law. Lord Mornington resented this as an interference with his private affairs, and wrote to the earl that he "must apologize or fight." Lord Shaftesbury, in answer, briefly defended his quotation from an ordinary legal source, and, so far as the challenge was concerned, referred Lord Mornington to the magistrate at Bow Street or to

his solicitors. Lord Mornington rejoined that this added to the original insult, and was besides "very absurdly impertinent." Nothing further came of the affair, but it was not a little amusing that in reference to a case before the Lords Justices in Chancery, the same week, Lord Mornington wrote, "I have ever felt, as a peer of the realm, that I am more bound to respect the law than other men."

That Lord Shaftesbury enjoyed a good joke, even when it was supposed to tell against himself, is shown by the following anecdote, which Mr. Hodder says he would often relate with infinite merriment. While his lordship was engaged in the Anti-Slavery campaign, and joining heartily in the English reception given to Mrs. Beecher Stowe, many of the American papers attacked him with great severity, and urged him to "look at home," and consider the condition of the working classes of his country. The ire of an editor of one of the "religious" papers of the South was greatly roused, and in an angry article he wrote: "And who is this Earl of Shaftesbury? Some unknown lordling; one of your modern philanthropists suddenly started up to take part in a passing agitation. It is a pity he does not look at home. Where was he when Lord Ashley was so nobly fighting for the Factory Bill, and pleading the cause of the English slave? We never even heard the name of this Lord Shaftesbury then!"

At the time of the Crimean War, Lord Shaftesbury demanded a free course for the Bible through the vast Russian empire. He showed that Protestantism was allowed a free field in

Turkey, while in Russia no religious movement was permitted. No associations for religious purposes were tolerated ; the printing of the Bible in the popular tongue was prohibited ; there were no facilities for the sale of the Scriptures, and no possible access for the masses of the people to the Word of God. The British Government was repeatedly compelled to interfere against the religious outrages of Russian agents: in fact, during twenty years Turkey had permitted more for the advancement of civilization than Russia had during four hundred. By personal intervention with the Emperor Napoleon, Lord Shaftesbury also secured greater liberty for French Protestants. We learn that it was while his lordship was further fighting a social battle at home, as hard as any which could be fought in the Crimea, and while he was drawn hither and thither by the conflicting claims of sufferers in all ranks at home and abroad, that he received the offer of the Order of the Garter from the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen. He weighed the matter carefully in all its bearings, feeling amongst other things that it might be viewed as a party tie, and that ignorant and malicious persons might say that "every public man had his price ;" and he came to the conclusion to decline the brilliant distinction.

When the ministerial crisis occurred in February, 1855, in connection with the Crimean War, and Lord Palmerston came into office, the new premier proposed to make Lord Shaftesbury Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet. Lord Shaftesbury was averse to the offer, however,

and the matter fell through. But he rendered better service than he could have done as Cabinet Minister in other directions. First, he took up the question of a day of national humiliation for the disasters to our troops in the Crimea, and having the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone, the day was appointed. Then he organized a scheme for a Sanitary Commission to proceed, with full powers, to Scutari and Balaclava, there to purify the hospitals, ventilate the ships, and exert all that science could do to save life where thousands were dying, not of their wounds, but of dysentery and diarrhoea, the result of foul air and preventible mischiefs. The War Minister, Lord Panmure, approved the scheme, and a strong body of Commissioners were appointed without delay. Lord Shaftesbury drew up the Instructions to the Commissioners with his own hands, and the Commission succeeded in rendering signal service. After the war, Miss Florence Nightingale sent her Report to the War Office upon army sanitary matters. Writing beforehand to his lordship, she said, "As Lord Shaftesbury has, for so many years, been our leader in sanitary matters (as in so many other wise and benevolent things), it seemed to me but right to send him also a copy of a Report which contains so much of what was done by himself, viz. the work of the Sanitary Commission in the East."

Great pressure was again put upon him to join Lord Palmerston's Government, but he resisted. In the session of 1855 he brought forward the

Religious Worship Bill, which, after a severe struggle, became law. This measure "established the power of the incumbent or curate, and the persons authorized by either of them, to conduct religious worship in a schoolroom or any building, be it barn or palace, in any part of his district, without in any way being molested by any power, judicial or ecclesiastical. It enabled a householder to use his house for religious worship, and to gather into it any number of persons without his being any longer subject to pains and penalties of any kind whatever; and it made the meetings of missionaries, Scripture-readers, and religious teachers, whether held from house to house, or in some regular place, lawful assemblies." Up to the year 1855 an enactment had been in force, prohibiting the teaching of the Gospel and the worship of God in private houses, when more than twenty persons beside the family were assembled.

In August, 1855, Lord Shaftesbury lost a second son by death. This child, Maurice, had for many years been the victim of a sad malady, but in his direst physical sufferings he preserved a brave and resigned heart. "I have lost two precious sons for the short time of human life," wrote the grief-stricken father; "but I have, by the love of Christ, housed them for ever in heaven. May those who survive walk worthy of their vocation, and, after a life of service and faith, be gathered into a blissful eternity."

With the exception of one brief interval, Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister from 1855 until his death in 1865. During that period, it is well

known that his Church appointments were in great measure made under the guidance of Lord Shaftesbury, who described himself as "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals." But it is useful to note, notwithstanding his relations to the premier, that Lord Shaftesbury did not relax his energies in humbler spheres. He furthered by all means in his power the work of the Lord's Day Observance Society, and the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, and organized a campaign against Sabbath desecration. There was a fear in many quarters about this time that attempts would be made to introduce the Parisian Sunday into England; and this was felt by Lord Shaftesbury and his friends to be repugnant to the religious instincts of the English people. In the spring of 1857 he rejoiced over the commencement of a series of special religious services in Exeter Hall, on Sunday evenings, the series being inaugurated by the Bishop of Carlisle. Difficulties, however, arose in a short time in consequence of the inhibition of the services, and Lord Shaftesbury introduced a measure in Parliament to remedy these. It met with so much opposition, however, that the bill was withdrawn; but the Archbishop of Canterbury carried a Bill in its place for legalizing special services in unconsecrated buildings in connection with the Church of England, and with episcopal sanction.

The news of the Indian Mutiny stirred Lord Shaftesbury deeply. A speech which he made at Wimborne caused great excitement throughout the country. He referred in pointed terms to the reserve exhibited by the press in alluding to the

cruelties practised on our country-women and their children by their sepoys, which tended to lessen the sympathy and assistance sought by the promoters of the Indian Mutiny Relief Fund. The foundation for the charges of mutilation was a letter written by Lady Canning to Lady Somers. A great controversy ensued, and it was long before the excitement died away. Lord Shaftesbury moved a vote of censure upon the Government for their Indian policy. The Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, having issued a proclamation confiscating the property of the landowners of Oude who had not made their submission, the proclamation was severely censured by Lord Ellenborough as President of the Board of Control. Great indignation ensued throughout the country, and votes of censure were moved in both Houses. It was contended that Lord Ellenborough's condemnation of the Governor-General was calculated to weaken his authority, and to encourage those in arms against the British power. Lord Shaftesbury's motion was only lost by nine votes, and the motion in the Commons was withdrawn in consequence of Lord Ellenborough's resignation, and the arrival of news from India, which greatly modified the impression of Lord Canning's action. But Lord Shaftesbury saw one good result flowing from the terrible mutiny, namely, that it opened up in India a wide field for Christian enterprise.

Many glimpses of Lord Shaftesbury's cosmopolitan spirit are to be obtained from his journal. For example, in August, 1858, he visited Halifax, to attend the opening of the "People's Park," the

munificent donation of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Crossley, "a manufacturer with a princely, and, what is better, a Christian heart." Mr. Crossley insisted on the attendance of "the best friend of the working classes." There were many speeches at the banquet, and Lord Shaftesbury, in proposing "The well-being of the people," thus referred to Mr. Crossley's magnificent gift: "We often read in the papers of 'munificent bequests.' To my mind, it is a phrase that has no meaning at all. I see no munificence in bequeathing your property to charitable purposes when you are going out of this world, and have not the possibility of longer enjoying it. What I like are munificent *donations*; I like to see men antedating the pleasure of those upon whom they bestow their bounty, antedating, I trust, their own pleasures, and enjoying, while yet alive, all the reverence, homage, and affection which are showered upon their memories after they are interred in the grave." When a peerage was conferred upon Macaulay, the historian, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his journal: "Macaulay is to be made a peer. This is wise, politic, useful, conservative. Urged this on Palmerston a year and a half ago. It will be taken as a compliment by literary men—small and great. . . . Wrote to Macaulay to congratulate him and myself and the Lords on his elevation. I can never forget his speech on behalf of the Ten Hours Bill."

Lord Shaftesbury was the friend of oppressed nationalities in Europe. He spoke energetically for the Poles, and warmly supported the cause of freedom in Italy during the events of 1859-60.

In the latter year he invited Garibaldi to visit England, observing that his presence, "as the representative of a generous and oppressed people struggling for civil and religious liberty, would call forth such an expression of national feeling as would be, if possible, equal to the occasion and to your own merits." It was not, however, until 1864 that Garibaldi could visit England, and then Lord Shaftesbury took a prominent part in his reception. He was his constant companion throughout the whole of his visit, and the hero of Marsala was received everywhere with unbounded enthusiasm.

A religious movement of note, of which Lord Shaftesbury was a warm supporter—but which originated with Mr. Sawell, of the London City Mission—was that for holding Sunday services in the London theatres. For a time the practice obtained a considerable hold. In January, 1860, five theatres were opened for religious worship, including the Victoria, in the New Cut, the Britannia, Hoxton, and Sadler's Wells, Islington. On several occasions Lord Shaftesbury conducted the services in the Victoria Theatre, and strange indeed were the sights which met his gaze. In a very short time seven theatres had been opened, and the average attendance was 20,700 each night. Seventy or eighty per cent. of the persons attending had probably never been present at public worship before.

An effort was made in 1861 to establish a Benevolent Asylum for the Insane of the Middle Classes, especially for those of limited means. Lord Shaftesbury gave his sympathy and support

to the scheme. For a time, however, it was allowed to drop; but a public meeting on behalf of the movement, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, had a momentous, if indirect, effect in another direction. Among the audience was Mr. Thomas Holloway, who was so impressed by the scheme, that he resolved (if he prospered sufficiently) to establish himself such an institution as that foreshadowed. The result was that, a quarter of a century later, the Holloway Sanatorium, in the beautiful district of Virginia Water, was opened by the Prince of Wales. This was the first of Mr. Holloway's magnificent benefactions, and it cost him upwards of £300,000; but it was soon followed by the opening of the splendid Ladies' College at Egham, founded at a cost of £450,000.

Early in September, 1861, another great sorrow overtook Lord Shaftesbury in the death of his daughter Mary. She had been for a long time an acute sufferer from lung disease, and at length gradually faded out of life. The grief of the parents was touching to witness. "I am astonished at, and bless God for, her gentleness, meekness, goodness," wrote her father; "such trials I have never seen or heard of."

On the 10th of December, 1861, Lord Shaftesbury accepted the Order of the Garter, which was again pressed on him by Lord Palmerston; and on the following day he heard the sad intelligence of the alarming illness of the Prince Consort. Lord Shaftesbury had always regarded the Prince with a feeling amounting to affection, and upon the news of his untimely death he thus wrote in

his journal : "Short of my own nearest and dearest, the shock could not have been greater. The desolation of the Queen's heart and life! the death-blow to her happiness on earth! God, in His mercy, sustain and comfort her! The disruption of domestic happiness unprecedented in royal history; the painful withdrawal of a prop; the removal of a counsellor, a friend in all public, in all private, affairs; the sorrows she has, the troubles that await her—all rend my heart as though the suffering were my own. To me they, both of them, were ever kind, and both expressed deep sympathy when it pleased the Lord to take my Francis and Mary."

In 1865 Lord and Lady Shaftesbury were called upon to mourn the loss of Lord Palmerston, who passed away on the 18th of October. With regard to the popular premier's Church appointments, Lord Shaftesbury maintained that they were "conspicuous for justice, propriety, impartiality, and freedom from merely political views." Dr. Pusey remarked that "if all were not such as he could have wished, all, at any rate, were in the interests of religion."

Early in 1866 a social movement, which Lord Shaftesbury had long contemplated, was set on foot. On the 14th of February a supper was given to homeless boys of London under sixteen years of age, at St. Giles's Refuge, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The night was cold and wet, but one hundred and fifty poor, ill-clad, ill-fed boys were present, and they formed a touching picture in their deep distress and poverty. After

a good supper, Lord Shaftesbury questioned the boys upon their past history ; and when he asked them whether they would like to go on board a big training-ship on the Thames, in order to be taught trades, a forest of hands was held up in an affirmative. The work began with the ship *Chichester*, readily granted by the Government, and the *Arethusa* succeeded. Mr. William Williams became the head and soul of the enterprise. Besides the training in ships, the Farm and Shaftesbury Schools at Bisley, and Fortescue House at Twickenham, were opened for the training of boys for colonial life ; Girls' Refuges were established at Sudbury and Ealing. Other organizations followed, and "the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children" proved, and still continue to prove, a great blessing to the country.

Lord Shaftesbury declined to join Lord Derby's Administration of 1866, and he regarded with distrust and solicitude the Conservative Reform Bill of 1867. He was in favour of educating working men for the suffrage, but thought that a sweeping measure of reform would inevitably tend to the establishment of democracy. He did not expect much from the Elementary Education Act of 1870, for in neither Prussia nor America had a similar produced a moral, though it might have stimulated an intellectual life. Lord Shaftesbury was strongly hostile to the opening of the national museums and picture-galleries on Sunday ; and he was also an enemy of the ballot, which he regarded as cowardly and un-English, and which he prophesied would be wholly ineffectual to put

down intimidation, while it would greatly increase bribery. He took a large share in moulding the Public Worship Regulation Bill, and he was for some years a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

Interesting glimpses of some of Lord Shaftesbury's friends are furnished in Mr. Hodder's biography. When the Duchess of Sutherland, the friend of the Queen, died in 1868, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his journal : "*Oct.* 28.—In the paper of this morning is announced the long-expected death of my true, dear, and constant friend, Duchess Harriet of Sutherland. In the year 1820 I first knew her ; and ever since she has been to me in heart, in temper, in demeanour, the most uniformly kind, considerate, and zealous ally and co-operator that ever lived. Such unbroken, such thoughtful, such invariable and sincere affection few have enjoyed. At the end of forty-seven years of acquaintance she was the same as at the beginning. She was ever ready to give her palaces, her presence, and her ardent efforts for the promotion of everything that was generous and compassionate and good. There was no pride, no meanness ; her courtesy was not conventional ; it was courtesy of feeling, of innate dignity, of a natural regard for the social and moral rights of others. I trust that my beloved friend has gone to her rest, there to meet my other friend, so precious to me, Harriet Ellesmere." Judge Payne was an indefatigable friend and fellow-labourer with Lord Shaftesbury in many objects—Refuges, Bands of Hope, Sunday Rest Societies, Shoeblack

Brigades, and Ragged Schools. They worked as friends and brothers, yet they were very different in character, disposition, and methods. "Judge Payne was essentially a merry man, who loved a joke above all things, and kept his audience in a constant ripple of smiles, until they surged into tempests of laughter at his sallies of wit. But he possessed the neat and dexterous faculty of bringing the most humorous of his anecdotes to an instructive and moral issue." Lord Shaftesbury wrote concerning Mr. Spurgeon, "Few men have preached so much and so well, and few men have combined so practically their words and their actions. I deeply admire and love him, because I do not believe that there lives anywhere a more sincere and simple servant of our blessed Lord. Great talents have been rightly used, and, under God's grace, have led to great issues." Of George Holland, the friend of the ragged children, he said, "I had rather be George Holland than ninety-nine hundredths of the great living and dead. What a servant of our beloved and precious Lord!" Joseph Gent, another lifelong labourer in Ragged Schools, and T. B. Smithies, editor of the *British Workman*, were amongst the earl's friends; as well as Mr. Weylland of the City Mission, Miss Rye, Mrs. Ranyard, and Mr. Alexander Haldane, with whom he was upon close terms of affection and sympathy for upwards of thirty years.

The Golden Lane Mission to Costermongers, founded by Mr. J. Orsman, was a work in which Lord Shaftesbury took a special interest. The

earl joined the mission, and delighted to call himself a "coster." There was a Barrow and Donkey Club; and Mr. Hodder states that the earl enrolled himself as a member, and subscribed for a barrow and a donkey. The barrow, which was a handsome one, and bore the Shaftesbury arms and motto, was in constant use by men who were saving up to buy barrows of their own. When there was a danger of the costermongers being forbidden to trade in Whitecross Street, Lord Shaftesbury interfered successfully on their behalf. He told the men at one of their meetings that when they had grievances which he could assist them to get redressed, they might write to him, and he would not fail to respond.

"But where shall we write to?" asked one of them.

"Address your letter to me at Grosvenor Square, and it will probably reach me," he replied; "but if after my name you put 'K.G. and Coster,' there will be no doubt that I shall get it."

As President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the earl did much towards procuring a kinder treatment for costermongers' donkeys, and especially in securing them a day's rest on the sabbath. In recognition of his kind services, the costers invited Lord Shaftesbury to their Hall, with the object of making him a presentation. More than a thousand costers and their friends attended. A handsome donkey, profusely decorated with ribbons, was led in, and presented as a token of esteem to the noble chairman. Lord Shaftesbury left the chair, and, putting his arm

round the animal's neck, returned thanks, saying, in the course of his brief speech, "When I have passed away from this life, I desire to have no more said of me than that I have done my duty, as the poor donkey has done his, with patience and unmurmuring resignation." The animal was then led away, and his lordship playfully added, "I hope the reporters for the press will state that, the donkey having vacated the chair, the place was taken by Lord Shaftesbury." The donkey was sent to the earl's country seat, St. Giles's, where he was made much of and lived for some years. Unfortunately, he one day broke away from the stable and made a dash for the paddock. In so doing he fell and broke his thigh. Being pronounced incurable by the veterinary surgeon, he was put out of his suffering. "The friendly and useful creature was buried," wrote the earl, "with all honours, in a place I have within a thick plantation, where the pet dogs, horses, etc., that have served the family, and deserved our gratitude, are gathered together. Remember me very warmly to my brother costermongers, their wives, and their children." The "brother costers" soon sent another donkey to fill the vacant place. It was a little brown donkey, which won the affection of every one. It followed the noble owner's grandchildren about like a spaniel.

It was incidents like the above which knit together so deeply the earl and all with whom he came in contact, whether in lofty or in humble stations. There was a Christian socialism about the man which made its way to all hearts.

On the 3rd of August, 1872, he laid the first stone of the new buildings on the Shaftesbury Park Estate, which had been acquired by the Artisans, Labourers, and General Dwellings Company, for the purpose of laying out as a workmen's city. The company was formed in 1867—in consequence of the destruction of houses by railroads, and for other public improvements—for the purpose of enabling workmen to erect dwellings combining fitness and economy with the latest sanitary appliances, and to become themselves the owners of these dwellings, in the course of a stated number of years, by the payment of a small additional rent. The houses were to be of three kinds, and were to be for the accommodation, not only of artisans, but of clerks, and each house was to form a distinct and separate tenancy. This estate, situate in Battersea, near Clapham Junction Station, was opened in July, 1874. It contained 1200 houses, capable of accommodating about 8000 persons. In addition to the houses, the township included several special features, such as schools, an ornamental garden, a lecture-hall, co-operative stores, and general stores; but there was no public-house or pawnshop within its precincts. At the inauguration, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Disraeli, Lord Granville, and other gentlemen made speeches, the Prime Minister expressing his warm sympathy with Lord Shaftesbury's endeavours to improve the condition of the working-classes.

One more memorable scene remains to be recorded in the life of this servant of God and friend

of man, whose last working days were spent in labour and prayer for young children. In June, 1884, the freedom of the City of London was presented to the earl in the Library of the Guildhall. The City Chamberlain, in enumerating the claims of the newest freeman, referred to his labours in connection with the Climbing Boys Act, the Factory and Ten Hours Acts, the Mines and Colliery Regulation Acts, the establishment of ragged schools, training ships, refuges for boys and girls, and other philanthropic institutions.

In his last illness, which came upon him in August, 1885, the earl constantly breathed the prayer, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly;" and every morning he desired the beautiful twenty-third psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want," to be read to him. His children saw in his death "the beauty of holiness, and the grandeur of the triumph of faith." One who was with him just before the end heard him breathe out the words: "I am in the hands of God, the ever-blessed Jehovah; in His hands alone." On the 1st of October he was taken to the Master whom he had so long and so faithfully served. He was buried in the little church of St. Giles's, having shortly before his death declined a funeral in Westminster Abbey. But in that sacred fane a memorial service was held, at which were present deputations from upwards of two hundred religious and philanthropic institutions. His fame will never die as a loving, trusting servant of Christ. He brought light into dark places, and walked humbly with his God.

A statue was erected to the earl in Westminster Abbey, and in June, 1893, the Shaftesbury Memorial at Piccadilly Circus was unveiled by the Duke of Westminster. It consists of a massive and beautiful drinking-fountain, symbolical of Christian charity, together with a fine bust by Mr. Alfred Gilbert, R.A. The tablet affixed to the fountain contains the following inscription, composed by Mr. Gladstone: "Erected by public subscription to Antony Ashley Cooper, K.G., seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, born April 28, 1801, died October 1, 1885. During a public life of half a century, he devoted the influence of his station, the strong sympathies of his heart, and the great powers of his mind, to honouring God by serving his fellow-men. An example to his order, a blessing to his people, and a name to be by them ever gratefully remembered."

IV.

BISHOP DANIEL WILSON.

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THE history of Christian missions in India forms one of the most fascinating records in the annals of the Church. The vast field of operations, with the teeming millions of population, must have appalled any other pioneers than those animated by the zeal of the Cross. Up to the nineteenth century, the efforts to evangelize the natives of this immense Eastern territory were fitful and spasmodic. Yet traditions of St. Thomas the Apostle survive in the south of India, where also a Syrian Church was planted in the early centuries after Christ. A remnant of Nestorianism has existed since the fifth century, and it still survives. Portuguese Roman Catholic missions were established in the sixteenth century, and these were soon followed by the arrival of St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits. The latter missions had a checkered career, languishing after the disruption of the Society of Jesus in Europe; but they were resuscitated early in the present century.

Early in the eighteenth century the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had missionaries in Southern India; and before the close of the century several of the other great Protestant

missionary societies were founded. The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792; the London Missionary Society in 1795; and the Church Missionary Society in 1799. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had already taken over the Indian mission work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and American Missions came later into the field. Henry Martyn, a Church of England chaplain, laboured devotedly in India from 1805 to 1812. In 1814 the bishopric of Calcutta was founded. The bishoprics of Madras and Bombay were established in 1835-37, and it was at this period that the eminent man who forms the subject of this biographical sketch occupied the see of Calcutta, and exercised supervision as metropolitan over the whole of India and Australasia.

Daniel Wilson was the son of a wealthy Spitalfields silk manufacturer. He was born in his father's old-fashioned house in Church Street, Spitalfields, on the 2nd of July, 1778. In very early youth he was educated at Eltham and at Hackney, and, after returning home, pursued for a time his father's trade. He invariably stole some hours, however, daily for his Latin, French, and English studies, and the composition of essays of a moral and scriptural character. At the age of eighteen he underwent a deep religious change, and his impressions were directed and strengthened by the Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. Young Wilson seems to have been beset by many doubts, and to have been greatly

troubled by his moral imperfections, but in the end he conquered most of these and discovered peace in the faith. As early as 1797 he felt his spirit strongly moved to go out as a missionary to heathen lands, and when thirty-five years had intervened, he became Bishop of Calcutta.

Before Daniel Wilson had attained his twentieth year, the desire to devote himself to the sacred ministry was very strong. Friends agreed with him, but his father opposed his wish. The Rev. Rowland Hill and the Rev. Richard Cecil were then consulted, and in the end Mr. Wilson withdrew his opposition. Accordingly, with the object of preparing himself for the ministerial calling, Daniel Wilson entered himself at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, on the 1st of July, 1798. At the university he studied diligently, thoroughly grounding himself in Livy and Herodotus, the Hebrew Bible, Hutton's "Mathematics," Rollin's "Ancient History," and other works. He passed all his examinations with distinction, and in 1803 carried off the chancellor's prize for an English essay. It is interesting to note that when Daniel Wilson left the rostrum after delivering his essay on "Common Sense," Reginald Heber ascended it to recite his poem of "Palestine." Little could the speakers or auditors on that occasion have anticipated that the two essayists would both live to occupy the same Indian see. "There is something affecting," observes the Rev. Josiah Bateman, Bishop Wilson's biographer, "in the picture of these two young aspirants thus brought together in the morning of life, who were afterwards called

to bear 'the heat and burden of the day' in the same far-distant land; something also in the scrolls they held, characteristic of the men, the one throwing over India the charm of poetry, piety, and a loving spirit; the other stamping upon it the impress of scriptural supremacy and evangelical truth; something of adaptation also in the divine ordering of those consecrated spots where 'they rest in their graves'—the chancel of St. John's, Trichinopoly, and the chancel of St. Paul's, Calcutta."

Having been ordained by the Bishop of Winchester on September 20, 1801, Daniel Wilson became curate to the Rev. Richard Cecil, at Chobham, a pleasant agricultural village in Surrey, which was parochially connected with the hamlet of Bisley. It was of inestimable advantage to the young curate to be brought under the influence of Mr. Cecil. This truly remarkable man was most eloquent as a preacher, and persuasive by his personal influence. "Few men have been more distinguished for originality of mind, and grand yet simple views of truth; whilst in his power of arresting the attention, convincing the understanding, impressing the conscience, and affecting the heart, he stood unrivalled in his day." For three years Daniel Wilson laboured at Chobham and Bisley, developing in his preaching and character, and ripening in experience. Then he was offered the assistant-tutorship of St. Edmund Hall, which he accepted. But before proceeding to Oxford, he married, at St. Lawrence Jewry, London, on the 23rd of November, 1803, his

cousin, Ann Wilson, daughter of Mr. William Wilson of Worton. In course of time three sons and three daughters were given to them. Two of the sons, Daniel and John, were educated at Oxford, and the former succeeded his father at Islington. John Wilson caused his parents deep sorrow, but they never ceased their prayers on behalf of their prodigal son, and when he lay in great suffering upon his premature death-bed, he gave every proof of sincere repentance and reconciliation with his Maker. Many descendants of the bishop lived to carry forward his honourable name to posterity.

Daniel Wilson began his work at St. Edmund Hall in 1804, and when his chief, Mr. Crouch, retired in January, 1807, he was appointed sole tutor and vice-principal. This post he occupied until 1812. During the earlier part of this period he was likewise Curate of Worton, in Oxfordshire, and many are the anecdotes related of the stirring effects of his preaching. In 1809 he resigned the curacy of Worton, and took charge of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, as successor to Mr. Cecil. Shortly before he resigned his official duties at St. Edmund Hall, he removed with his family from Oxford to a house in Chapel Street, Bloomsbury. Daniel Wilson never spared himself in his reflections upon the various episodes of his career, and we find this passage in his diary relating to his Oxford and Worton life: "My time at Oxford was utterly without profit as to my soul. Pride grew more and more, and carnal appetites enchained me. On the other hand, Worton

afforded me much spiritual consolation. These nine years were passed, I trust, in the path of duty, though amidst struggles, temptations, and frequent estrangements of soul and spirit."

After his settlement in London, Mr. Wilson's literary recreations were numerous, although his work in the ministry suffered no diminution. Admirable papers appeared in the *Christian Observer*; and a remarkable sermon which he preached before the University of Oxford was printed and published under the title of "Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge," and passed through several editions. Two funeral sermons for the Rev. Richard Cecil were next published, and he soon afterwards endeavoured to improve a tragic occasion by his pamphlet entitled "Conversation with Bellingham, the Assassin of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval." Then there were addresses before the Church Missionary Society, and addresses on Confirmation and the Lord's Supper—the two last-named running through more than twenty editions. Although nearly eighty years have passed since the original publication, they are still to be obtained from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1817 came an able sermon on "Regeneration," preached before the University of Oxford, in which he insisted that the doctrine was of urgent and primary importance. It was called forth by a controversy which arose over a pamphlet by Dr. Mant, on the baptismal question. The sermon was printed, and went through numerous editions. A third volume of "Sermons," by Mr.

Wilson, published in 1818, enjoyed extraordinary popularity, and realized for the author alone between £700 and £800. There were a directness and a force in the author's arguments which went straight to the heart and mind of the reader. The funeral sermon which Mr. Wilson preached on the Rev. Thomas Scott, the author of the world-wide "Commentary of the Bible," attracted much attention. There was no work to which the preacher was more strongly drawn, right down to the close of his life, than Scott's "Commentary." In 1823 Mr. Wilson wrote a series of prefaces to various select Christian authors, that to Butler's "Analogy" being especially able and searching. Next appeared, in two volumes, "Letters from an Absent Brother," which were written by Daniel Wilson when he was compelled to seek rest and recreation on the Continent. The most important of his works, however, was that on "The Evidences of Christianity," completed and published in two volumes in the year 1830. Even down to the present day, this work is invaluable to four large and important classes: "First, those who are entering on a religious life; secondly, those who are satisfied of the truth of Christianity, but unable to give to any one that asketh a 'reason for the hope that is in them;' thirdly, those whose faith may have been shaken by intercourse with unbelievers; and fourthly, those who are anxious to revive forgotten truths in their own souls." A course of "Lectures," which Mr. Wilson delivered at St. John's Chapel, in the winter months of 1819, were, ten years later, again delivered in Islington

Parish Church, and then published and widely diffused in four editions throughout England and India. Seven "Sermons on the Lord's Day," preached in 1830, were collected, and they formed Mr. Wilson's last published work before leaving England.

The services at St. John's, Bedford Row, were warmly appreciated by "all sorts and conditions of men." It was veritably a place where the rich and the poor met together to listen to Mr. Wilson's eloquence. Of men who were or afterwards became distinguished, there were frequently to be noted Charles Grant and his two sons, the future President of the Board of Control, and the Governor of Bombay; William Wilberforce and his son Samuel, the future bishop; Zachary Macaulay and his son Thomas Babington, the brilliant historian; Dr. Mason Good, Bishop Ryder, Lord Calthorpe, and many more. Many voluntarily testified to the complete change of life and action which came over them in consequence of Mr. Wilson's earnest ministry. But some were not always delighted the first time they heard him. A typical instance is that of a young man who said, after his first visit, "I will never go to hear that Daniel Wilson again." He was persuaded to go again, and then said, "I will never hear anybody but Daniel Wilson, if I can help it," and, as an earnest of his intention, he sat upon a drop-seat in the middle aisle for six months until he could obtain a pew. One hearer, who afterwards became a distinguished politician, embraced Christianity as a vital principle after

listening almost accidentally to one of Mr. Wilson's discourses. The congregation generally was one of liberal-minded, earnest Christians. Their offerings to Church societies, and during national crises, were largely in excess of most other London churches; and the first real District Visiting Society was established in connection with St. John's.

In the interests of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Mr. Wilson travelled through the whole of England, speaking in all the large towns. He also visited Ireland, the Channel Islands, and France. His arduous exertions brought on a dangerous illness, from which at length he happily recovered, only to resume his indefatigable labours in the same self-denying spirit.

In May, 1824, Mr. Wilson accepted the vicarage of Islington. Under his predecessor, this important district, which was then almost a country suburb of London, had been allowed to sleep. But all was changed with the arrival of the new vicar. Islington now became a centre of spiritual activity—a character which it has never lost from that day to this. Even seventy years ago Daniel Wilson had charge of thirty thousand souls in his new parish; and he at once threw himself into the work of erecting new churches, increasing the numbers of the clergy, organizing schools, conciliating churchwardens, managing vestries, and generally, as far as possible, providing for the great spiritual destitution everywhere apparent. In the third year of his settlement at Islington he sustained a heavy trial in the death of his wife. Two

years later his aged mother, who had been comforted by his spiritual consolations, passed away. We find, however, that the vicar was unrelaxing in his work, for there are records of no fewer than seven hundred young people being confirmed at one time, of the establishment of the Islington Auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society, and the formation of a Mutual Assurance Society for the parishioners. Three fine churches were built—viz. Trinity Church; St. Paul's, Ball's Pond; and St. John's, Holloway—all of which were consecrated by Dr. Howley, Bishop of London. Admirable men were appointed to their oversight. The churches were soon filled, the most pressing spiritual wants of Islington being thus for the time supplied. The new spirit thus infused into the parish continued to bear fruit long after its originator had been called away.

A new school for the upper classes was the next object to which Mr. Wilson devoted himself. It was sought to offer a first-class education at a moderate charge, and one that should combine, or attempt to combine, the discipline of school with the comforts of home. After numerous preliminary difficulties had been arranged, the plan was settled, the shares taken, the buildings erected, and able masters appointed; and on the 20th of October, 1830, the Bishop of London opened "a school which soon attained, and still maintains, a high reputation in the neighbourhood and at the universities." This scheme accomplished, the vicar threw himself heart and soul into the resuscitation of the Newfoundland Society. This

society had been weighed down with a debt of £1700; the committee were in despair, the secretary had resigned, and the society was on the verge of extinction. Mr. Wilson came to the rescue, and by his energy and activity the debt was cleared off, an adequate income secured, and the whole scheme placed on a firm basis. After some years of usefulness, the Newfoundland Society was incorporated with the Colonial Church Society, and from this union arose that useful institution, the Colonial Church and School Society of the present day.

Yet in the midst of his public work and earnest Christian effort, Daniel Wilson was fighting continually a battle within himself. His strivings and searchings of heart may be understood from this entry in his diary for 1830—

"July 1.—To-morrow, if it pleases God, I shall complete my fifty-second year, and enter my fifty-third. What should be my resolutions for the new year? Tell me, O my soul, what I ought to do, as it respects my private devotions, my ministerial work, my children, religious societies, and the Church of God.

"1. My private devotions ought to be more regular, fervent, and spiritual; above all, I ought to study the Bible more humbly and prayerfully.

"2. My ministry demands more simplicity, sweetness, tenderness of heart, spirituality, fidelity, boldness.

"3. My children require my prayers, my example, my instructions, and a steady consistent walk,

"4. The societies need carefulness to avoid divisions ; and to keep from needless interference, all must be open, straightforward, wise.

"5. The Church of God wants a heart full of charity, a single eye, and the simplicity of Jesus Christ in all things.

"I have, myself, to guard against (1) pride ; (2) the lusts of the flesh ; (3) vain and worldly reading. Give me, O God, the needful grace."

For some time before the death of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, in 1832, Daniel Wilson's thoughts had been turned towards the East ; and when the bishop's death was actually announced, his mind was full of India. He wrote to his friend, Mr. Charles Grant—President of the Board of Control in Lord Grey's Government—as to a fit successor to the vacant see. The offer of the bishopric was declined by Chancellor Raikes, Archdeacon Hoare, and others ; and Mr. Wilson then let it be known that, if emergency arose, he was prepared to sacrifice himself and go out, if God should accept the offering. That it was a great sacrifice is manifest from the following passage in Mr. Bateman's biography : "India was still accounted at that time as a place of banishment from home and friends. No overland route, no Suez railway, no electric telegraph, bridged the intervening space, or alleviated the pain of separation. And as to the bishopric, a peculiar fatality seemed to have settled on it. Four bishops, prostrated by their overwhelming duties or the uncongenial climate, had sunk and died within nine years ; and he who followed them must go 'baptized for the

dead.' And what was the appointment, speaking after the manner of men, to one in the position of Mr. Wilson? He was fifty-four years old; he had a full competency; he was happily situated; he filled a high post; he discharged important duties; he was surrounded by loving friends; he exercised a wide influence. What could the East hold out as a compensation to the man who resigned all these? Mr. Crouch, his old tutor, who still survived, wrote to him from the quiet parsonage of Narborough, when the appointment was complete, and expressed what every one who reflected must have felt, 'From the intelligence communicated by the newspapers, I had been led to concur with the united wish of the religious public, that your health might be found equal to your very important duties. The sacrifice you are making of comfort and enjoyment in your native country is disinterested and magnanimous; and, to use language which has been applied on a similar occasion, I bow myself before such heroic virtue, or rather I adore the grace of God in Christ Jesus, which is able to raise up such instances of it in our degenerate days.'"

In March, 1832, the offer of the bishopric was formally made to Mr. Wilson by Mr. Charles Grant, with the concurrence of Lord Grey and the sanction of the king. It was accepted, not without a feeling of solicitude as regarded its dangers and its labours, and on the 29th of April he was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta at Lambeth Palace. The archbishop (Dr. Howley) was assisted in the consecration by Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London;

Dr. Monk, Bishop of Gloucester; and Dr. Grey, Bishop of Bristol. The service was simple, quiet, reverent; and an affecting discourse was preached by Dr. Dealtry, Rector of Clapham. Then followed a period of farewells, of presentations, and of appearances at court, where he was graciously received by William IV. and his consort. On the morning of his departure from London, the new bishop rose "a great while before day," and penned these affecting words in his diary: "*Monday morning, 4 o'clock, June 18.*—I am now come to the departing moment, when I am to leave my country, my family, my parish, my friends. Lord, be Thou a country, a family, a parish, a Friend to me, and that will make up for all. Lord, I resign myself to Thee, humbly trusting in Thine infinite power, goodness, and grace." The bishop sailed in the ship *James Sibbald*, from Portsmouth, on the 19th of June, and, after a stay of some time at Capetown—where he examined thoroughly the religious and educational provision made for the colony—he safely landed at Calcutta on the ensuing 5th of November.

Some idea of the onerous nature of the duties attached to the see of Calcutta may be gathered from one or two facts. Not only was there the work in Calcutta and the presidency in general, but the bishop's jurisdiction extended over territories which now constitute fifteen large and important dioceses, namely, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Colombo, Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle, Adelaide, Perth, Tasmania, Waiapu, Wellington, Nelson, Christ Church, and Brisbane. Then there

were the customary visitations, the adoption of new usages, and the naturalization of unwonted hours in consequence of the climate. But having delivered his first message in the cathedral, the bishop went round preaching in all the other churches in Calcutta and the immediate neighbourhood. He visited Bishop's College, the Church Missionary Society's premises at Mirzapore, Mrs. Wilson's Native Schools, the Free School, and all the other religious and charitable institutions of the presidency. He presided over meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; received deputations from the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, and accepted in both cases the office of president. He entertained the clergy, the missionaries, and the catechists; and then he turned his eyes to the distant parts of his diocese, and wrote letters to the clergy of Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, and China.

Bishop Wilson found that ecclesiastical matters had become greatly disorganized from the repeated vacancies in the see. It was no light undertaking to gather up the threads again, and for a considerable period his time was monopolized and absorbed beyond conception. In describing his daily life to his children at home, he said, "I rise about five every morning, ride on horseback for an hour, then bathe and dress, and have an hour to myself. We breakfast at eight o'clock, have prayers at half-past, tiffin or luncheon at one, dinner at seven, evening prayers at half-past eight, and at nine I

am retiring to bed." For two or three days in each week he retired to a beautiful country house called "The Hive," on the banks of the Hooghly, about thirteen miles from Calcutta, where he could carry on his immense correspondence, and transact important business, free from the incessant interruptions of the city. The bishop lived simply, and laboured unceasingly. "He was indefatigable in acquiring information. Every chaplain as he visited the Residency, each missionary when he called on business, travellers like Dr. Wolff from far countries, all civil and military servants with whom he came in contact, were put under contribution. No pains were spared, no opinion despised, no advice rejected. A visit to Dr. Carey, at Serampore, elicited many interesting reminiscences of the early Christianity of India. A visit to Russipugla gave reality to the mission work now being carried on. A friendly conversation with Dr. Duff furnished important information on the subject of native education. All was written down at the time in a manuscript book, and preserved for future perusal, enlargement, or correction. He was, in truth, thoroughly a man of business. His heart was in his work. It engrossed even his morning ride and evening drive. Business was his recreation and delight." He found a kindred spirit in many respects in Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, with whom he settled many matters in friendly conversation which might have caused serious friction if discussed in formal correspondence.

The bishop framed a new constitution for the

Free School, a noble institution, where three or four hundred children of both sexes were fed, trained, and educated ; instituted courses of Lent Lectures, with the object of grappling with the prevailing tendencies towards infidelity ; established a series of clerical meetings, or semi-official synods ; visited with unfailing regularity Bishop's College ; held frequent ordinations, confirmations, and native baptismal services ; did his best to compose the difficulties caused by the systems of proselytizing ; introduced infant schools into India ; advocated a more regular and rapid communication between England and India ; became the almoner of the Begum Sumroo in her gifts to the Church and to the poor ; took a prominent part in procuring suffragan bishops for Madras and Bombay ; gave a renewed impetus to the Church Building Fund for India ; laid down clear principles in relation to marriage and divorce amongst native Christians ; and adjusted the hitherto anomalous relations of the chaplains to the Government and to the bishop.

Bishop Wilson held his primary visitation in the Cathedral of Calcutta, on the 10th of August, 1834. The charge was a masterly address of an hour and a half's duration, but in the middle of it the bishop was quite overcome for a time, as he referred to the fact that five bishops had been consecrated in twelve or thirteen years. "The pastoral staff drops from the hand before it is grasped." Measures are broken off in the midst ; and we must look to the mercy of God alone for the settlement and future safety of our apostolical branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in India.

The bishop was uncompromising on the necessity for education and the abolition of caste; and he closed with this impassioned appeal, which can never become obsolete, for labourers in the mission field: "What can exceed the inviting prospects which India presents? The fields white for the harvest, and awaiting the hand of the reaper! Nations bursting the intellectual sleep of thirty centuries! Superstitions no longer in the giant strength of youth, but going to their fall! Oh, where are the first propagators and professors of Christianity? Where are our martyrs and Reformers? Where are the ingenuous, pious sons of our universities? Where are our younger devoted clergy? Are they studying their ease? are they resolved on a ministry, tame, ordinary, agreeable to the flesh? are they drivelling after minute literature, poetry, fame? Do they shrink from that toil and labour which, as Augustine says, Our Commander — *Noster Imperator* — accounts most blessed?"

A few days later there was a farewell dinner at Government House, followed by a farewell sermon at the cathedral, and then the bishop embarked, under the usual salute, and dropped down the river on his first visitation. In their extent, his journeyings on this memorable occasion remind us of those of the primitive ambassadors of the Cross. The bishop visited, in succession, Penang, Singapore, Malacca, Moulmein, Colombo, Kandy, Madras, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, as the first section of his episcopal enterprise. At Penang he found one Protestant clergyman only

to 40,000 heathen and 1500 Roman Catholics. In other places the spiritual provision was very small, and the bishop at once made energetic efforts to increase it. In several instances he was called upon to adjust serious difficulties which had arisen in connection with mission work. The second section of this primary visitation embraced visits to Vizagapatam, Cochin, Goa, Bombay, Ahmednuggur, Aurungabad, Mhow, Indore, Nusseerabad, Jeypoor, Delhi, Meerut, Mussooree, Simla, Agra, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, Allahabad, etc. Near Pooree he examined the Temple of Juggernaut, which greatly moved him, and stirred anew his religious zeal to overcome this and other Indian horrors. The first part of the visitation lasted six months and seven days. The bishop travelled 6500 miles, preached eighty sermons, wrote a second Charge, and carried both this and its predecessor through the press at Vepery. He greatly needed substantial pecuniary aid in his various evangelistic undertakings, but that he met with cordial support at home is shown by such entries in his diary as the following: "A letter from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge overwhelms me with gratitude to God. The Society votes me a third £500 to give away, and £500 a year in books for two years; besides a variety of other grants. The kindness with which they treat me is extraordinary. I see in this a talent committed to me of a high order. So also the Propagation Society. Oh for grace to employ and occupy with these tracts!"

A matter of prime importance which engrossed

the attention of Bishop Wilson in 1835 was the arrangement of a scheme of education for the Martinière School. The name afterwards became familiar to Englishmen at home from its association with the terrible rising in India, and the defence and relief of Lucknow. The education scheme was warmly discussed in a debate in the House of Lords, when the bishop's name was prominently introduced. The school had its origin in a large bequest left by a certain General Martin, an Indian adventurer of the old days, for the entire maintenance and education of a certain number of children. There was no religious restriction. Bishop Wilson, in connection with the vicar apostolic and the Presbyterian chaplain, succeeded in framing a Catechism and form of worship for use in the school within the definite limits prescribed. These were duly approved by the governors, but when their nature became known, the vicar apostolic was recalled by the general of his order (the Jesuits), and charged with having conceded fundamental principles in the report, and having improperly indulged in social intercourse with the bishop; the Presbyterian chaplain, Dr. Charles, was likewise called to account by his brethren in Scotland; while the bishop met with praise which he did not desire, and censure which he did not deserve. When the English Committee of Council on Education published their famous minute of April 11, 1855, which proposed a scheme of general education for all parties, the case of the Martinière School was cited, and the conduct of the Bishop

of Calcutta highly commended. The school was opened in due time, and succeeded admirably.

The second part of the bishop's primary visitation included 7000 miles of travel by sea and land. The whole visitation was probably the longest on record. It occupied two years and a half, and more than 13,500 miles were traversed. "The outlines of British India had well-nigh been traced. The confines of Burma, China, Thibet, Cabul, had been nearly touched. The Ganges, Sutlej, Brahmapootra, Cavery, and Nerbudda rivers had been crossed or navigated. Commenced on August 25, 1834, it concluded (with two intervals rendered necessary by the climate) on March 14, 1837." A second visitation was begun in 1838, which extended into 1842. The area included was not so wide as in the first, but many places were now visited for the first time. Just as the tour closed, the terrible news reached Calcutta of the capitulation of the British Army in Cabul, and the murder of Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes. Both were known to the bishop, and the former had been one of his frequent hearers.

Bishop Wilson's third visitation, which was his first as metropolitan, began in 1842, and concluded in 1845. His Charge was delivered on the 24th of August, 1842. It was again uncompromising in character, but took a wider range. It asserted the supremacy of Holy Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and condemned the whole system of Tractarianism as teaching "another gospel," and as assimilating with Romanism. The Charge was enlarged by additions made when it was delivered at

Madras, Colombo, Palamcotta, and Bombay ; and appendices were also added on various important points, both doctrinal and practical. When finally published in 1843, both in India and England, it extended to a volume of 150 pages, and it played an important part in the controversy then going forward.

When his third visitation was concluded, the bishop's health was so shattered that he was obliged to avail himself of the Act of Parliament which permitted the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay to go home, on certain conditions and certain allowances, for a period of eighteen months. Accordingly, in 1845 his fourth Charge was delivered in his absence, and he set out for England. In June he once more found himself in his Islington home. Friends, from the highest classes to the humblest, flocked in upon him ; and he received deputations and addresses from the Propagation Society and the Church Missionary Society. Notwithstanding a return of jungle fever for a time, the bishop was able to travel to various parts of the country, where he invariably excited interest and enthusiasm. In March, 1846, the bishop was honoured with a private audience by the Queen and the Prince Consort, who examined with much care his proposed plans for the new Cathedral at Calcutta. Her Majesty subsequently gave the Communion plate for the cathedral, consisting of ten pieces of silver plate, richly gilded, and bearing suitable inscriptions. After much communion with beloved friends, and many farewells, the bishop again set sail for India

on the 31st of August, 1846. His self-devotion in this second departure from his country, his kindred, and his father's house, was perhaps even more conspicuous than his original consecration to the work. As his biographer observes, "The romance of India had long since passed away. He knew the afflictions which awaited him. He had felt the strife of tongues. The sun had smitten him. Life was waning. The communion of the Church at home, the sympathy of friends, the love of children,—all had to be relinquished. Yet none of these things moved him. The grace of Christ never failed, and his purpose never faltered. Not a word was said to dissuade him. The charge so solemnly laid upon his children before he left India was strictly kept; and whatever had been their hopes, their grief was silent. They felt that they should see his face no more!" .

Reaching Calcutta in safety, Bishop Wilson resumed his multifarious duties on the 18th of December, 1846. A day to which he had long looked forward with eager hopes dawned at length on October 3, 1847, when the beautiful Cathedral of St. Paul's, at Calcutta, was dedicated to the service of Christ and His Church. It had occupied eight years in construction, and about £75,000 had been raised for the building and grounds. The bishop himself gave £20,000—half for the building, and half for the endowment; the East India Company gave the site and contributed £15,000; the Indian subscriptions amounted to £12,000, and the English to £13,000; and among other gifts the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

presented £5000 in five annual payments, and a superb Bible and Prayer-book; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made a grant of nearly £5000 for the foundation of a native canonry; the University of Oxford contributed £300 in money and £200 in books for the Cathedral library; Mr. Thomas Natt, of London, gave £4000, and £750 for a canon's house; the Dean and Chapter of Windsor gave a large stained-glass window, which had been originally intended for St. George's Chapel; and the Queen, as we have already seen, presented a superb set of Communion plate.

Years of usefulness, far more in number than the bishop ever ventured to hope for, were still granted to him; and he had his fifth, sixth, and seventh visitations before his life-work was accomplished. His last Charge was delivered on the 23rd of October, 1855. It was based on the address of St. Paul at Miletus to the elders of the Church at Ephesus, and it was carefully applied to the condition of the Church, and the character of the clergy, in these later times. The address was paternal and affectionate, and it anticipated the time when the severances upon earth would cease with the final reunion in heaven. Its personal references were touching and pathetic. After the Charge had been delivered, the bishop and his chaplain embarked for distant parts of the empire. They returned to Calcutta towards the close of 1856, and the bishop was soon attacked with a severe illness. He recovered somewhat, however, and entered upon the new year with thankfulness,

The breaking out of the Indian Mutiny was a great shock to him ; but the aged bishop was nobly foremost in comforting the sorrowing and aiding the distressed. The whole English population throughout India became terribly alarmed by the dark deeds at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore ; but the bishop preserved an equable mind, and wrestled daily in prayer for the blessings of peace again to descend upon India.

Bishop Wilson was now in his eightieth year—a wonderful age to have attained in such a climate, and under such continuous labours as he had sustained for twenty-five years. When the year 1858 opened his friends saw that his end was rapidly approaching. Early in the morning of the 2nd of January he died in his sleep, apparently without any struggle. Archdeacon Pratt had been with him up to the last, moved to the quick by the placid bearing, the firm faith, and the divine resignation of the departing saint. On the 4th of January the bishop's remains were consigned to their last resting-place in St. Paul's Cathedral. The news of the venerable prelate's death elicited sympathetic tributes from all parts of India, as well as from the mother country. It was felt that the grave had closed over the most conspicuous figure in the Indian mission field, and one whose Christianity had expressed itself in princely liberality and an undying zeal for God's cause. "A brave and noble soldier ! A wise and bold leader !" was the eulogy passed upon him by one who knew and revered his character.

V.

ARNOLD OF RUGBY.

V.

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THE life of a great schoolmaster, where the teacher not only loves his work, but is imbued with a due sense of its dignity and importance, is one of the noblest that a man can lead. It may bring with it much labour and many sorrows, but it has lofty compensations, chief of which is the knowledge that the teacher is moulding the character of the future race, with its undeveloped warriors, statesmen, poets, and philosophers. The director of one of the great public schools of England has in his hands an immense power for good ; and no wonder that he sometimes feels the overwhelming nature of his responsibility. Arnold of Rugby rose to something like the ideal of a public schoolmaster ; and one reason for this was that he kept ever in view the necessity for a close union of moral and intellectual excellence. Brain-power without character is a dangerous possession—a lesson which the subject of our memoir never failed to impress upon his pupils. He sought to ground character upon moral principle and the verities of Christianity, and he enjoyed, in consequence, a signal measure of success.

Thomas Arnold was one of a rather numerous family born to William and Martha Arnold, of West Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where the father acted as collector of customs. The original home of the Arnolds was at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, but they had been resident at Cowes for two generations when the future schoolmaster first saw the light on the 13th of June, 1795. At the age of six Thomas Arnold lost his father, and his two elder brothers, William and Matthew, followed respectively in 1806 and 1820. All his sisters survived him, with the exception of the third, Susannah, who died at Laleham, in 1832, from an affection of the spine. After being educated for a time by his aunt, Miss Delafield, in 1803 Thomas was sent to Warminster School, in Wiltshire, where he remained until 1807. Then he was removed to Winchester, where he entered as a commoner, but afterwards became a scholar of the college, leaving it at the age of sixteen. In that biography of Dr. Arnold, which has now become an English classic, Dean Stanley states that in after-life Thomas Arnold "always cherished a strong Wykehamist feeling, and during his head-mastership at Rugby often recurred to his knowledge, there first acquired, of the peculiar constitution of a public school, and to his recollections of the tact of managing boys shown by Dr. Goddard, and the skill in imparting scholarship which distinguished Dr. Gabell—both, during his stay there, successively Head-masters of Winchester."

As a child and as a boy his manners were older than his years—a characteristic which was reversed

in later life ; but from the first there was observed in him an indomitable will, which, when combined with tenacity of opinion, made him immovable in matters of right and wrong. The war feeling prevalent in his boyhood tinged his intellectual tastes, and he was extremely fond of ballad poetry. A poem on "Simon de Montfort," in imitation of Scott's "Marmion," procured for him the title of "Poet Arnold," and his earliest composition was a little tragedy on the romantic Percy, Earl of Northumberland. In history and geography he was remarkably proficient ; indeed, he had mastered Gibbon and many other of the leading historians before he left Winchester. When he went to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, therefore, in 1811, he was in some respects well equipped. In 1814 he obtained a first class in classics, in 1815 a Fellowship at Oriel and the chancellor's prize for the Latin essay, and in 1817 the chancellor's prize for the English essay. The late Justice Coleridge (father of the Lord Chief Justice) was his most intimate friend at the university, and he again and again acknowledged his excellent advice, protection, and example, in times of strong temptation, adding that he owed more to him "than to any other man in the world." Justice Coleridge, writing in 1843—the year after Arnold's death—drew an attractive picture of his friend, with all his youthful enthusiasms, his ingenuousness, and his religious doubts, in which latter he was greatly helped by the gentle Keble. Arnold and Keble differed much in later years, but the former never forgot how much he had owed to Keble, and he

bitterly lamented the suspension of their intimate intercourse. Arnold bravely fought his religious doubts, and gained so much by the conflict that a friend said of him, what had already been said of another, "One had better have Arnold's doubts than most men's certainties."

In describing his own early friendship with Arnold, Justice Coleridge made use of wise and weighty words which have an enduring application : "Whoever sets a right value on the events of his life, for good or for evil, will agree that, next in importance to the rectitude of his own course and the selection of his partner for life, and far beyond all the wealth or honours which may reward his labour, far even beyond the unspeakable gift of bodily health, are the friendships which he forms in youth. That is the season when natures soft and pliant grow together, each becoming part of the other, and coloured by it ; thus to become one in heart with the good and generous and devout, is, by God's grace, to become, in measure, good and generous and devout. Arnold's friendship has been one of the many blessings of my life. I cherish the memory of it with mournful gratitude, and I cannot but dwell with lingering fondness on the scene and the period which first brought us together. Within the peaceful walls of Corpus I made friends, of whom all are spared me but Arnold. He has fallen asleep ; but the bond there formed, which the lapse of years and our different walks in life did not unloosen, and which strong opposition of opinions only rendered more intimate, though interrupted in time, I feel not to be broken ;

nay, I venture, without unreasonable solemnity, to express the firm trust that it will endure for ever in eternity."

When Arnold became a Fellow of Oriel, the society already boasted such distinguished members as Copleston, Keble, Whately, Hawkins, and Hampden, and shortly after he left, Newman and Pusey were added, the former being elected into his vacant fellowship. Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Whately were Arnold's chief friends, and he has specially recorded his regard for the latter. Arnold continued to reside on his fellowship till 1819, taking private pupils, and reading deeply and systematically in the Oxford libraries. Having been ordained deacon, he settled at Laleham, near Staines, where he devoted himself to the preparation of private pupils for the university. He had with him his mother, aunt, and sister; but in 1820 a yet dearer tie was formed, when he married Mary, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Penrose, Rector of Fledborough, Notts. The union was celebrated in a beautiful poem by Keble, and the sixth stanza in the poem for Wednesday before Easter, in the "Christian Year," also refers to this marriage. On establishing himself at Laleham, he believed that his work was to be for life. Yet, naturally, he was one of the most ambitious men alive. "I have always thought," he wrote in 1823, "with regard to ambition, that I should like to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*, and as it is pretty well settled for me that I shall not be Cæsar, I am quite content to live in peace as *nullus*." He found great happiness at Laleham. It was here that most of

his children were born, and, having fewer cares than came to him afterwards, he took delight in parochial work, and in visiting the villagers, and entering into their sorrows and enjoyments. His home affections were intense, and under them his large-heartedness grew apace, rendering him a sympathetic medium for the confidences of others.

Laleham also developed in him that quality of reverence which was so conspicuous a feature of his character. His grasp of Christian truth also deepened, and it seemed to be no figure of speech to say that he lived daily in communion with his Master, Christ. "In his even tenor of life," remarks Dean Stanley, "it was difficult for any one who knew him not to imagine 'the golden chain of heavenward thoughts and humble prayers by which, whether standing or sitting, in the intervals of work or amusement,' he 'linked together more special and solemn devotions,'—or not to trace something of the consciousness of an invisible presence in the collectedness with which, at the call of his common duties, he rose at once from his various occupations; or in the calm repose which, in the midst of his most active labours, took all the disturbing accidents of life as a matter of course, and made toil so real a pleasure, and relaxation so real a refreshment to him. And in his solemn and emphatic expressions on subjects expressly religious; in his manner of awful reverence when speaking of God or of the Scriptures; in his power of realizing the operation of something more than human, whether in his abhorrence of evil or in his admiration of goodness;—the

impression on those who heard him was often as though he knew what others only believed, as though he had seen what others only talked about." He wrestled with evil, and knew the source of the strength which enabled him to battle with it. Such a man was eminently fitted to be the guide, the friend, and the instructor of youth.

The principles upon which Arnold acted at Laleham were afterwards carried out in the more extended sphere of Rugby. The secret of his strength as a teacher has been admirably set forth by Mr. Price, who, after first knowing him at Laleham, subsequently became one of his assistant-masters at Rugby. "The most remarkable thing," he says, "which struck me at once on joining the Laleham circle was the wonderful healthiness of tone and feeling which prevailed in it. Everything about me I immediately found to be most real; it was a place where a new-comer at once felt that a great and earnest work was going forward. Dr. Arnold's great power as a private tutor resided in this, that he gave such an intense earnestness to life. Every pupil was made to feel that there was a work for him to do—that his happiness as well as his duty lay in doing that work well. Hence an indescribable zest was communicated to a young man's feeling about life; a strange joy came over him on discovering that he had the means of being useful, and thus of being happy; and a deep respect and ardent attachment sprang up towards him who had taught him thus to value life and his own self, and his work and mission in this world. All this was founded on the breadth

and comprehensiveness of Arnold's character, as well as its striking truth and reality; on the unfeigned regard he had for work of all kinds, and the sense he had of its value both for the complex aggregate of society and the growth and perfection of the individual. Thus pupils of the most different natures were keenly stimulated; none felt that he was left out, or that, because he was not endowed with large powers of mind, there was no sphere open to him in the honourable pursuit of usefulness. This wonderful power of making all his pupils respect themselves, and of awakening in them a consciousness of the duties that God assigned to them personally, and of the consequent reward each should have of his labours, was one of Arnold's most characteristic features as a trainer of youth; he possessed it eminently at Rugby; but, if I may trust my own vivid recollections, he had it quite as remarkably at Laleham. His hold over all his pupils, I know, perfectly astonished me. It was not so much an enthusiastic admiration for his genius, or learning, or eloquence which stirred within them; it was a sympathetic thrill, caught from a spirit that was earnestly at work in the world—whose work was healthy, sustained, and constantly carried forward in the fear of God,—a work that was founded on a deep sense of its duty and its value; and was coupled with such a true humility, such an unaffected simplicity, that others could not help being invigorated by the same feeling; and with the belief that they too in their measure could go and do likewise."

Arnold's own studies at Laleham were in philo-

logy and history. He prepared a "Lexicon of Thucydides," an edition of that author with Latin notes, afterwards exchanged for English ones, and an incomplete and unpublished "History of Greece;" while he wrote articles on Roman history for the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." In 1825 Julius Hare directed his attention to Niebuhr's "History of Rome," a work which at once enchained his attention, and which he was the first to introduce to the English public through the pages of the *Quarterly Review*. His interest in German writers and in Roman history was further strengthened by the lasting friendship he formed at Rome, in 1827, with the Chevalier Bunsen, successor to Niebuhr as German Minister at the Papal Court. At the same time, much of his best thought was devoted to education and the Church, and he ardently looked forward to the time when he could accomplish good work with regard to both. While he claimed a certain freedom in the interpretation of Scripture, he set up a high standard of Christian excellence in life. His object in his writings, as in his speech, was to bring the great principles of the gospel home to the hearts and practices of his own countrymen in his own time, and by this means to raise and ennoble society. His first volume of sermons, published in 1828, made this very clear.

On more than one occasion Arnold was pressed to stand for the mastership of Winchester, but he "declined, first, from a distrust of his own fitness or inclination for the office; and afterwards, from more generous reasons." His friends, however,

desired a larger sphere of usefulness, with a more settled provision, than Laleham afforded ; besides which he had determined to make a change, as he found living at Laleham expensive. In August, 1827, the head-mastership of Rugby became vacant through the resignation of Dr. Wooll. Arnold appeared as a candidate, but he was one of the last in the field. His testimonials, though few in number, were of the highest character ; and Dr. Hawkins (afterwards Provost of Oriel) predicted that if Mr. Arnold were elected "he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England." It was chiefly on the strength of Dr. Hawkins's letter that the twelve trustees—noblemen and gentlemen of Warwickshire—unanimously elected Arnold to the head-mastership. This was in December, 1827, and in the following June Arnold received priest's orders from Dr. Howley, then Bishop of London. In April and November of the same year he took his degrees of B.D. and D.D., and in August entered upon his new office. He contemplated his prospects at Rugby with a very strong interest, and was filled with a sincere desire to make it a place of Christian education.

Rugby now became his home for the fourteen years of life which yet remained to him. Changes were being loudly called for in public schools generally, by those who thought that classical knowledge was pursued to the detriment of a healthy religious education. Reforms were very difficult of accomplishment, however, though Rugby offered a freer field in this direction than schools

like Eton and Harrow. Dr. Arnold had plenty of moral courage to sustain him in essaying the task. There was a good deal of the statesman in his nature, and Dean Stanley observes that "he governed the school precisely on the same principles as he would have governed a great empire;" and that constantly, "to his own mind or to his scholars, he exemplified the highest truths of theology and philosophy in the simplest relations of the boys towards each other or towards him."

Dr. Arnold claimed independence of action in conducting the school, and his active reforming zeal gave rise to the saying, "He awakes every morning with the impression that everything is an open question." Occasionally, the "consciousness of his own integrity, and his contempt for worldly advantage, led him to require from others more than might be reasonably expected from them, and to adopt measures which the world at large was sure to misinterpret;" but in the end of his career, "he rallied round him the public feeling, which in its beginning and middle had been so widely estranged from him." His general relations with the Rugby trustees were entirely amicable, but any attempt to control either his administration of the school or his own private occupations he felt bound to resist, "as a duty, not only to himself, but to the master of every foundation school in England." With regard to his assistant-masters, he instituted many changes for their benefit; and "it was an increasing delight to inspire them with those general views of education and of life by which he was himself so fully possessed; and the

bond, thus gradually formed—especially when, in his later time, several of those who had been his pupils became his colleagues—grew deeper and stronger with each successive year that they passed in the place. Out of his own family there was no circle of which he was so completely the animating principle as amongst those who co-operated with him in the great practical work of his life ; none in which his loss was more keenly felt to be irreparable, or his example more instinctively regarded as a living spring of action, and a source of solemn responsibility, than amongst those who were called to continue their labours in the sphere and on the scene which had been ennobled by his counsels and his presence.”

The main features or methods of Dr. Arnold's administrative system may be briefly summarized from the long and interesting description furnished by his biographer.

First came his personal government of the boys, which was so striking that the whole school became thoroughly penetrated with his spirit. “ From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects ; whatever excellences it had were his excellences. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth was derived, not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether in the school itself, or in its after-effects, the one image that we have before us is not Rugby, but Arnold.”

Secondly, he sought to make the school a place of really Christian education, not merely by books, but by daily action. "When, either in direct religious teaching or on particular occasions, Christian principles were expressly introduced by him, they had not the appearance of a rhetorical flourish or of a temporary appeal to the feelings; they were looked upon as the natural expression of what was constantly implied: it was felt that he had the power, in which so many teachers have been deficient, of saying what he did mean, and of not saying what he did not mean,—the power of doing what was right, and speaking what was true, and thinking what was good, independently of any conventional or professional notions that so to act, speak, or think was becoming or expedient."

Thirdly, he endeavoured to combat the evils which had led good men to declare that public schools were the seats and nurseries of vice, and which arose chiefly through boys forming an independent society of their own, in which the influence they exercised over each other was far greater than could possibly be exercised by the masters.

Fourthly, "he based his whole management of the school on his early formed and yearly increasing conviction that what he had to look for, both intellectually and morally, was not performance, but promise; that the very freedom and independence of school life, which in itself he thought so dangerous, might be made the best preparation for Christian manhood; and he did not hesitate to apply to his scholars the principle which seemed to him to have been adopted in the training of the

childhood of the human race itself." Accordingly, in striving after the ideal of true manliness, "he shrank from pressing on the conscience of boys rules of action which he felt they were not yet able to bear." He sought to make boys choose the good for themselves and reject the evil, and he endeavoured to make them respect themselves by the respect which he showed to them individually. He was never on the watch for boys, and he so encouraged straightforward and manly action, in trivial as in great things, that there grew up a general feeling that "it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie—he always believes one."

Fifthly, with regard to the general discipline of the school, he made a beneficial alteration in the whole system of punishments for the higher part, but retained flogging for the younger part for such moral offences as lying, drinking, and habitual idleness. Further, he sought to check particular vices, while he defended the custom of fagging for the sake of securing a regular government amongst the boys themselves, and avoiding the evils of anarchy. He placed great dependence on the Sixth, or highest Form, for the efficiency and general character of the school. He tenaciously held to his right of expulsion, notwithstanding vehement remonstrances sometimes made against his action both on public and private grounds. But in becoming a candidate for the mastership he had insisted on his unfettered exercise of this right; and in putting it in force he was always guided either by the whole character of the individual, or by the general state of the school. For

mere cleverness, whether in boys or men, Dr. Arnold had no regard. Using the example of lawyers to enforce his point, he remarked that "mere intellectual acuteness, divested as it is, in too many cases, of all that is comprehensive and great and good, is to me more revolting than the most helpless imbecility, seeming to me almost like the spirit of Mephistopheles." It is well known that the "university honours which his pupils obtained were very considerable, and at one time unrivalled by any school" in England, and he was unfeignedly delighted whenever they occurred. But he never laid stress upon them, and strongly deprecated any system which would encourage the notion of their being the chief end to be answered by school education.

Sixthly, with respect to his ideas of school instruction, he maintained from the first that classical studies should be the basis of intellectual teaching. Then "he was the first Englishman who drew attention in our public schools to the historical, political, and philosophical value of philology and of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the mere verbal criticism and elegant scholarship of the last century. And besides the general impulse which he gave to miscellaneous reading, both in the regular examinations and by encouraging the tastes of particular boys for geology or other like pursuits, he incorporated the study of modern history, modern languages, and mathematics, into the work of the school, which attempt, as it was the first of its kind, so it was at one time the chief topic of blame and

praise in his system of instruction." The personal instruction he gave to the boys of the Sixth Form made an indelible impression upon the pupils. A scholar rejoiced greatly to merit his commendation, and equally dreaded to be visited by his condemnation; in any case, he knew he should receive strict justice from him. It was his principle to awaken the intellect of every individual boy, and to do this chiefly by questioning, which was so directed as to draw from the pupil everything he knew. He warmly hailed any evidence of original thought in a pupil, and his idea was to be perpetually learning, whether for master or scholar. Extempore translation from the Greek and Latin into English he encouraged, being himself a great proficient in this intellectual exercise. His lectures on modern history and the Scriptures were models of clear, accurate, and forcible exposition.

Dr. Arnold's chapel services were a marked feature during his mastership. Nowhere was he seen to greater advantage than in the school chapel. Reverence, feeling, and dignity marked the services, and he made others feel, what he felt himself, "It is good for us to be here." He loved intensely everything connected with the chapel and its ministrations, even down to the material structure. The rite of Confirmation was administered under his rule with regularity, and the Communion was celebrated four times in the year. When he bent down over the youthful communicants, "with looks of fatherly tenderness, and glistening eyes and trembling voice, in the ad-

ministration of the elements, it was felt, perhaps, more distinctly than at any other time, how great was the sympathy which he felt with the earliest advances to good in every individual boy." Dr. Arnold's sermons were remarkable; indeed, they have ever been looked upon as models of their kind in English preaching. In his earlier sermons he was somewhat severe, especially in dealing with the evils of youth, but as years went on he took a gentler tone in his discourses, though all were imbued by the same momentous thoughts touching the love of Christ and the abhorrence of sin. In a most wonderful manner, he came quite close to his auditors, and as it were grappled with their souls. The effect of his sermons was thus described by a pupil: "I used to listen to them from first to last with a kind of awe, and over and over again could not join my friends at the chapel door, but would walk home to be alone; and I remember the same effects being produced by them, more or less, on others whom I should have thought as hard as stones, and on whom I should think Arnold looked as some of the worst boys in the school."

He cultivated a close personal as well as pastoral relation with the boys, and he exhibited a natural youthfulness and elasticity of constitution in mingling with them and entering into their pursuits. With the smallest boys he was tender and affectionate, but the feeling of the older pupils towards him was one of reverence. From this sentiment "grew up a deep admiration, partaking largely of the nature of awe, and this softened

into a sort of loyalty, which remained even in the closer and more affectionate sympathy of later years." "I am sure," wrote one of his pupils, "that I do not exaggerate my feelings when I say that I felt a love and reverence for him as one of quite awful greatness and goodness, for whom I well remember that I used to think I would gladly lay down my life;" and he added, with reference to the thoughtless companions with whom he had associated, "I used to believe that I too had a work to do for him in the school, and I did for his sake labour to raise the tone of the set I lived in, particularly as regarded himself." Again and again in after-life, pupils were moved by salutary recollections of Arnold, and it was only when they heard of his death that "they became conscious of the large space which he had occupied in their thoughts, if not in their affections."

Bishop Moberly, in detailing his own experiences as a school-boy and an undergraduate, fully acknowledged the loftier tone with which Dr. Arnold had imbued public-school life. "I did not find," he said, "on going to the university, that I was under disadvantages as compared with those who came from other places; on the contrary, the tone of young men at the university, whether they came from Winchester, Eton, Rugby, Harrow, or wherever else, was universally irreligious. A religious undergraduate was very rare, very much laughed at when he appeared, and I think I may confidently say, hardly to be found among public-school men, or, if this be too strongly said, hardly

to be found except in cases where private and domestic training, or good dispositions, had prevailed over the school habits and tendencies. A most singular and striking change has come over our public schools—a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately, who has not known them in these times. This change is undoubtedly part of a general improvement of our generation in respect of piety and reverence, but I am sure that to Dr. Arnold's personal earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable. He was the first. It soon began to be a matter of observation to us in the university that his pupils brought quite a different character with them to Oxford than that which we knew elsewhere. I do not speak of opinions; but his pupils were thoughtful, manly minded, conscious of duty and obligation, when they first came to college; we regretted, indeed, that they were often deeply imbued with principles which we disapproved, but we cordially acknowledged the immense improvement in their characters in respect of morality and personal piety, and looked on Dr. Arnold as exercising an influence for good, which (for how many years I know not) had been absolutely unknown to our public schools."

Regarding Dr. Arnold for a moment, apart from his school life, he was fearless in the expression of his opinions, whether political or religious. In

politics he supposed himself to be a strong Whig ; but he was not a party man, either in the political sphere or in the Church. He did not identify himself with either the High Church, Low Church, or Evangelical body, while in matters of public polity he formed independent convictions, and held to them.] In 1833 he wrote, "May God grant to my sons, if they live to manhood, an unshaken love of truth, and a firm resolution to follow it for themselves, with an intense abhorrence of all party ties, save that one tie which binds them to the party of Christ against wickedness!" His opinion on one "burning question," however, was shown by the title of his first pamphlet, "The Christian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic Claims." With the object of helping the poor, and indoctrinating them in the Christian faith, he began to issue a weekly newspaper in 1831, entitled the *Englishman's Register* ; but it was unsuccessful, partly owing to his want of leisure to conduct it properly, and the great expenses involved, and partly from the lack of sympathy where he most expected to find it. He turned to his literary and historical studies again, and to his researches in exegetical divinity. He also conceived the idea for a work on Christian politics, or Church and State, hoping to pursue its composition in the leisure of old age. The deeply-rooted conviction that the Church and State were identical he held to the close of his life ; and Bishop Stubbs has shown, in his learned works, that in the earlier history of the nation the Church and the State grew up together.

Meanwhile his life at Rugby brought him much domestic happiness ; and it is impossible to gauge the character of the man truly without taking this into account. Says Dean Stanley, "Perhaps the scene which, to those who knew him best, would bring together the recollections of his public and private life in the most lively way, was his study at Rugby. There he sat at his work, with no attempt at seclusion, conversation going on around him, his children playing in the room, his frequent guests, whether friends or former pupils, coming in or out at will,—ready at once to break off his occupations to answer a question or to attend to the many interruptions to which he was liable ; and from these interruptions, or from his regular avocations, at the few odd hours or minutes which he could command, would he there return and recommence his writing, as if it had not been broken off. 'Instead of feeling my head exhausted,' he would sometimes say, after the day's business was over, 'it seems to have been quite an eagerness to set to work.' 'I feel as if I could dictate to twenty secretaries at once.' 'Unhasting, unresting diligence,' was the strong impression which a day's visit at Rugby left on one of the keenest observers amongst English authors, Thomas Carlyle ; and he was one of those who, however engaged, whether in business, in writing, or in travelling, are emphatically never in a hurry.

"Still, he would often wish for something more like leisure and repose. 'We sometimes feel,' he said, 'as if we should like to run our heads into a hole—to be quiet for a little time from the stir of

so many human beings which greets us from morning to evening.' And it was from amidst this chaos of employments that he turned, with all the delight of which his nature was capable, to what he often dwelt upon as the rare, the unbroken, the almost awful happiness of his domestic life. It is impossible adequately to describe the union of the whole family round him, who was not only the father and guide, but the elder brother and playfellow of his children; the first feelings of enthusiastic love and watchful care, carried through twenty-two years of wedded life; the gentleness and devotion which marked his whole feelings and manner in the privacy of his domestic intercourse. Those who had known him only in the school can remember the kind of surprise with which they first witnessed his tenderness and playfulness. Those who had known him only in the bosom of his family found it difficult to conceive how his pupils or the world at large should have formed to themselves so stern an image of one in himself so loving. Yet both were alike natural to him; the severity and playfulness expressing each in their turn the earnestness with which he entered into the business of life, and the enjoyment with which he entered into its rest; while the common principle, which linked both together, made every closer approach to him in his private life a means for better understanding him in his public relations."

He had much intercourse with the poor at Rugby, as he had previously had at Laleham, and both in his public addresses and daily conversation

there was an utter absence of affectation. "I never knew such a humble man as the doctor," said the parish clerk at Laleham, after he had revisited it from Rugby. "He comes and shakes us by the hand as if he was one of us." "He used to come into my house," said an old woman near his place in Westmoreland, "and talk to me as if I was a lady."

Arnold's holidays were almost always spent in short tours, or, in later years, at his Westmoreland home, Fox How, a small estate between Rydal and Ambleside, "which he purchased in 1832, with the view of providing for himself a retreat, in case of his retirement from the school, or for his family in case of his death." Having a strong love of natural beauty and variety, he longed for scenery of a bolder and more romantic character than that which the Rugby district of Warwickshire afforded. Consequently, Fox How became every year more dear to him as the centre of his local and domestic affections. "It is with a mixed feeling of solemnity and tenderness," he remarked, on one occasion, "that I regard our mountain nest, whose surpassing sweetness, I think I may safely say, adds a positive happiness to every one of my waking hours passed in it." When absent from it, it yet "dwelt in his memory as a vision of beauty from one vacation to another." At Fox How, "under the shade of the trees of his own planting, he hoped in his old age to give to the world the fruits of his former experience and labours by executing those works for which at Rugby he felt himself able only to prepare the

way, or lay the first foundations, and never again leave his retirement till—to use his own expression—‘his bones should go to Grasmere churchyard, to lie under the yews which Wordsworth planted, and to have the Rotha with its deep and silent pools passing by.’”

Men's minds were greatly disturbed by a number of important events which transpired soon after Dr. Arnold went to Rugby. First came the alarming agricultural disturbances in the winter of 1830, then came the visitation of the cholera immediately afterwards, and finally the political agitations attending the Reform Bill. Arnold's sermons at this time showed that he was deeply moved by what was going forward, and he never flinched from giving his views as to the duties of Christians in such times of national crisis. “I cannot understand,” he said, “what is the good of a National Church if it be not to Christianize the nation, and introduce the principles of Christianity into men's social and civil relations, and expose the wickedness of that spirit which maintains the game laws, and in agriculture and trade seems to think that there is no such sin as covetousness; and that, if a man is not dishonest, he has nothing to do but to make all the profit of his capital that he can.” National purity and uprightness he fought for as much as individual, and his words of warning and reproof are not unnecessary now, half a century or more later. He desired the religious spirit to mark the impartation of secular knowledge, and he earnestly strove to import this spirit into the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

In the midst of political and social upheavals Dr. Arnold sustained a severe personal loss in August, 1832, by the death of his sister, Susannah Arnold, at Laleham. She had suffered for twenty years from a complaint of the spine, but had preserved all through a noble spirit of resignation. Dr. Arnold thus describes her in a letter to Archbishop Whately: "I never saw a more perfect instance of the spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind; intense love, almost to the annihilation of selfishness—a daily martyrdom for twenty years, during which she adhered to her early formed resolution of never talking about herself; thoughtful about the very pins and ribbons of my wife's dress, about the making of a doll's cap for a child; but of herself, save only as regarded her rejoicing in all goodness, wholly thoughtless, enjoying everything lovely, graceful, beautiful, high-minded, whether in God's works or man's, with the keenest relish; inheriting the earth to the very fulness of the promise, though never leaving her crib nor changing her posture; and preserved, through the very valley of the shadow of death, from all fear or impatience, or from every cloud of impaired reason, which might mar the beauty of Christ's Spirit's glorious work. May God grant that I might come but within one hundred degrees of her place in glory! God bless you all."

[In 1833 Dr. Arnold gave form and substance to his aspirations after Church reform by publishing his pamphlet entitled "The Principles of Church Reform." At this period the Church was being

very vigorously assailed, and among the working classes there seemed to be a revolt against Christianity itself. The author consequently stepped forward to suggest, as he believed, a means of escape from the calamity of destruction which many thought to be imminent. The alarm proved, of course, to be baseless, and the Church is stronger to-day than ever ; but the danger appeared to be a very real one to Arnold. His pamphlet, which caused a great sensation and drew forth much adverse comment, embraced "a defence of the National Establishment, a statement of the extreme danger to which it was exposed, and a proposal of what seemed to him the only means of averting this danger—first, by a design for comprehending the Dissenters within the pale of the Establishment, without compromise of principle on either side ; and, secondly, by various details intended to increase its actual efficiency." But the writer's treatment of his subject failed to conciliate the classes he had in view. "Dissenters objected to its attacks on what he conceived to be their sectarian narrowness, the clergy of the Establishment to its supposed latitudinarianism ; its advocacy of large reforms repelled the sympathy of many Conservatives, its advocacy of the importance of religious institutions repelled the sympathy of many Liberals." Still, there were many wise and notable passages in the pamphlet. "Such were the statement of the advantages of a National and of a Christian Establishment ; his defence of the bishops' seats in Parliament, and of the high duties of the Legislature. Such, again, were the

suggestions of a multiplication of bishoprics, the creation of suffragan or subordinate bishops; the revival of an inferior order of ministers or deacons in the Establishment; the use of churches on week-days; the want of greater variety in our forms of worship than is afforded by the ordinary course of Morning and Evening Prayer;—all of them points which, being then proposed nearly for the first time, have since received the sanction of a large part of public opinion, if not of public practice.”]

Dean Stanley states that on the appearance of this pamphlet, the storm which had been gathering for some time past over Dr. Arnold, now burst upon him. “Beginning in theological and political opposition, but gradually including within its sweep every topic, personal or professional, which could expose him to obloquy, it continued to rage for the next four years of his life.” But he was distinguished for his courage, and maintained an undaunted front when men fell away from him on the right hand and on the left; and at the critical election of 1834 he even travelled, in the depth of winter, from Westmoreland to Warwickshire, to vote for the Liberal candidate, well knowing the burst of indignation which must follow. Touching his views on national education, it is stated that they were fixed at this time in the principles expressed by his favourite watchwords, “Christianity without sectarianism,” and “Comprehension without compromise;” and these principles he developed and expounded in an unpublished “Letter on the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.”

Whenever he could, he delighted to get away from the Midlands, where there was much rancorous hostility manifested against him, to the lovely scenery and calm solitude of Fox How. And so, from the intellectual point of view, he would exchange the heat and turmoil of polemical warfare for the delights of Roman history and his labours in connection with Thucydides.

But he was drawn forth again by the Oxford movement, of which he was a determined opponent. From the first he had viewed "Newmanism"—as he described it—with apprehension, although many of his old friends were deeply involved in it; but in 1835-6 his feeling developed into one of positive alarm, and he attacked the new party with extraordinary severity and vehemence, in an article entitled "The Oxford Malignants," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*. Arnold's biographer confesses, with regard to this article, that "the offence caused by it, even amongst his friends, was very great; and whatever feeling, political or theological, existed against him was for the time considerably aggravated by it. It was his only published notice of the Oxford school between his third and fourth volumes of sermons; but though he never again expressed himself with equal vehemence, these proceedings at Oxford left an impression upon his mind which he never entirely lost, and which showed itself long afterwards in the stronger language of moral condemnation used in speaking of the views in question."

In September, 1835, the Chancellor of the

Exchequer (Mr. Spring Rice) offered Dr. Arnold a Fellowship in the Senate of the new London University. He at first resolved on accepting it, without insisting upon a scriptural examination for the students; but when he became more and more convinced that the scriptural examination was both practicable and all but indispensable, he gave notice of his intention to recommend the introduction of the Scriptures as a part of the classical examinations for every degree. He was very firm on this point of a compulsory religious though unsectarian examination. Although he was defeated on his main principle, a biblical examination was introduced, and he remained for a time on the Senate, with the hope of rendering the examination as efficient as possible, and of making it evident that the degree in Arts was considered incomplete without it. As the Board, however, ultimately succeeded in disuniting the scriptural examination altogether from the degree, he withdrew from the Senate in November, 1838. "The only permanent result of his efforts was the establishment of the voluntary scriptural examination;" and his anxiety to secure this brought him "into direct collision with the extreme section of the Liberal party, and with the tendency to keep the principles of the Christian religion distinct from national literature and education, which he had long regarded as a great and growing evil in English society."

Dr. Arnold was opposed to the admission of Jews to the political privileges of the English people. In this matter, he said, he took his stand

on the principle that the world is made up of Christians and non-Christians. "I would thank the Parliament for having done away with distinctions between Christian and Christian; but I would pray that distinctions be kept up between Christians and non-Christians. Then I think that the Jews have no claim whatever of political right. The Jews are strangers in England, and have no more claim to legislate for it than a lodger has to share with the landlord in the management of his house. If we had brought them here by violence, and then kept them in an inferior condition, they would have just cause to complain; though even then I think we might lawfully deal with them on the Liberia system, and remove them to a land where they might live by themselves independent; for England is the land of Englishmen, not of Jews." This attitude astonished many of the doctor's Liberal friends, and we need make no further reference to it except by adding that, some years after Arnold's death, the civil and political enfranchisement of the Jews in England was finally completed.

An interesting correspondence passed between Mr. Justice Coleridge and Dr. Arnold on the theological writers. While the latter had a considerable admiration for Hooker and Butler, and for the genius of Jeremy Taylor, of the divines as a whole he had not a high opinion—that is, as regards their intellectual powers only. He held John Bunyan to have been a man of incomparably greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of

Christianity. He emulated Lord Macaulay in his feeling for the "Pilgrim's Progress." "I cannot trust myself," he was wont to say, "to read the account of Christian going up to the celestial gate, after his passage through the river of death." And again, upon reading the work through after a long interval, he said, "I have always been struck by its piety : I am now struck equally, or even more, by its profound wisdom." The simplicity of the "Pilgrim's Progress" has always charmed the poor and the illiterate ; its literary beauty and its wisdom the erudite ; while its noble Christian spirit and elevation have enchained all.

During the discussion on university reform, in 1837, Dr. Arnold wrote to Mr. Pryme, M.P., explaining his views. There were three points on which he desired legislation : first, he supported a thorough revision of the system of fines : secondly, the abolition of various oaths ; and thirdly, the removal of the monopoly of the colleges, by allowing any Master of Arts, according to the old practice of Oxford, to open a hall for the reception of students. He also made several minor recommendations, though he did not lose sight of the serious responsibility assumed in interfering with the universities at all. "No man," he said, "ought to meddle with the universities who does not know them well and love them well ; they are great and noble places ; and I am sure that no man in England has a deeper affection for Oxford than I have, or more appreciates its inimitable advantages. And therefore I wish it improved and reformed—though this is a *therefore* which men are exceed-

ingly slow to understand." Yet the proposals he made were carried into effect by Parliament sixteen years later.

In 1835 Dr. Arnold completed his edition of Thucydides, which is equally valuable for its text and its geographical annotations; and then he devoted himself to the elaboration of the first three volumes of his projected "History of Rome," and to the composition of various articles on later Roman history published after his death. In visits to the Continent he found great relief from anxiety, and his friendly intercourse with the poet Wordsworth at Rydal was another unmixed pleasure to which he always looked forward. Another spasm of alarm, such as he had experienced in 1831-32, passed over him in 1839-40, in consequence of the disturbed social condition of the country, and the Chartist rising. "It haunts me," he remarked, "I might almost say night and day. It fills me with astonishment to see anti-slavery and missionary societies so busy with the ends of the earth, and yet all the worst evils of slavery and of heathenism are existing among ourselves. But no man seems so gifted, or, to speak more properly, so endowed by God with the spirit of wisdom, as to read this fearful riddle truly, which most sphinx-like, if not read truly, will most surely be the destruction of us all." Happily, his fears for the future proved to be groundless, though much discontent still continued to be felt by the working classes. When Mr. Gladstone's work on "The State in its Relations with the Church" appeared, Dr. Arnold wrote to the Rev. F. C. Blackstone,

"I read and have got Gladstone's book, and quite agree with you in my admiration of its spirit throughout. I also like the substance of about half of it ; the rest, of course, appears to me erroneous. But it must be good to have a public man writing on such a subject, and it delights me to have a good protest against that wretched doctrine of Warburton's, that the State has only to look after body and goods."

About two years before Dr. Arnold's death, the tide of his unpopularity began to turn. This was partly owing to the continuous and gratifying success of his pupils at the universities, and partly owing to a higher appreciation of his character among all classes. So pronounced was the change of feeling in his favour, that in August, 1841, the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, offered him the vacant Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford. He accepted the appointment, chiefly to gratify his earnest longing to have some direct connection with Oxford. On the 2nd of December he delivered his inaugural lecture, which, in consequence of the great pressure for seats, was given in the theatre. The occasion was one of profound interest, and the scene has been thus graphically described by Dean Stanley: "Even to an indifferent spectator, it must have been striking, amidst the general decay of the professorial system in Oxford, and at the time when the muster of hearers rarely exceeded thirty or forty students, to see a chair, in itself one of the most important in the place—but which, from the infirmities of the late professor, had been practically vacant for

nearly twenty years,—filled at last by a man whose very look and manner bespoke a genius and energy capable of discharging its duties as they had never been discharged before. The audience was unprecedented in the range of academical memory ; the oppressive atmosphere of controversy, hanging at that particular period so heavily on the university, was felt at least for the time to be suddenly broken, and the whole place seemed to have received an element of freshness and vigour, such as in the course of the lecture itself he described in his sketch of the renovation of the worn-out generations of the Roman empire by the new life and energy of the Teutonic races. But to many of his hearers there was the yet deeper interest of again listening to that well-known voice, and gazing on that well-known face, in the relation of pupils to their teacher ; of seeing him at last, after years of misapprehension and obloquy, stand in his proper place, in his professorial robes, and receive a tribute of respect, so marked and so general, in his own beloved Oxford ; of watching him as he unfolded, with characteristic delight, the treasures of his favourite study of history ; of witnessing the emotion, the more touching for its transparent sincerity and simplicity, with which he declared ‘how deeply he valued the privilege of addressing his audience as one of the professors of Oxford’—‘there was no privilege which he more valued, no public reward or honour could be to him so welcome.’”

In the Lent Term of 1842 Dr. Arnold took up his abode at Oxford, with the whole of his family.

He had prepared eight lectures, which he now began to deliver to an unwonted concourse of listeners, all of whom were held spell-bound both by the matter and manner of the orator. The inaugural lecture was a definition of history in general, and of modern history in particular; the eight following lectures were the natural expansion of this definition, and the professor's main object was to do for English history what Guizot, in his lectures on the civilization of France, had begun to do for French history. In the terminal lectures on biography—which were required by the statutes of his professorship—he intended to deal with such historical figures as Gregory the Great, Alfred, Dante, Louis IX., etc. Yet, as though he had a presentiment of death, in speaking of his future work, he constantly used such phrases as, "If life and health be spared me," "If God shall permit," "If I am allowed to resume these lectures next year," and so forth. To one of his children, who asked him why, in the title-page of his manuscript volume of sermons, he always wrote the date only of its commencement, and left a blank for that of its completion, he said, "It is one of the most solemn things I do to write the beginning of that sentence, and think that I may perhaps not live to finish it."

He looked forward to terminating his connection with Rugby in consequence of the new sphere opened out to him, but the education of his two younger sons decided him to remain at his old post for some time longer. About three weeks before his end he was confined to his room by an

attack of feverish illness, and he told his wife at this juncture that he "felt quite a rush of life in his heart towards God and Christ," which he hoped "might make him more gentle and tender." His feelings found vent in some beautiful supplicatory passages written each night in his diary. Thomas Carlyle had visited him not long before this, and had gone away expressing the hope that this model home at Rugby might "long continue to be what was to him one of the rarest sights in the world—a temple of industrious peace."

On the 5th of June Arnold preached his last sermon in Rugby Chapel, before the final dispersion of the boys for the holidays, and on the 11th he wrote in his diary, "The day after to-morrow is my birthday, if I am permitted to live to see it—my forty-seventh birthday;" and he went on to express a wish to keep himself "pure and zealous and believing—labouring to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others, if God disapproves of my doing it." Early on the following morning, Sunday, he awoke with a sharp pain across the chest, which spread to his left arm, and proved to be an attack of *angina pectoris*. Between the paroxysms of acute pain, he asked his wife to read to him the fifty-first psalm, which he repeated after her very earnestly. Then she read the prayer in the "Visitation of the Sick," beginning, "The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower," which she altered into a common prayer for them both. The physician was quickly in attendance, and prescribed remedies, but as Mrs. Arnold saw that he

evidently regarded the case as very serious, she called up her second son Thomas, the eldest of the family then at Rugby. He watched with his mother by the sufferer, who responded eagerly to the passages from the exhortation in the "Visitation of the Sick." At the words "everlasting life" Mrs. Arnold stopped, and the son said, "I wish, dear papa, we had you at Fox How." The patient was not able to make reply, "but the last conscious look, which remained fixed in his wife's memory, was the look of intense tenderness and love with which he smiled upon them both at that moment." Not long afterwards he breathed his last, the end coming very suddenly.

The sorrow and sympathy over his death were universal. The funeral ceremony took place on the 17th of June, the master's remains being deposited in the chancel of Rugby School, immediately beneath the Communion-table. On the following Sunday the mourning family partook of the Holy Communion at his grave, and heard read the sermon which he had preached in the preceding year on "Faith Triumphant in Death." On the first Sunday of the next half-year another memorial service was held, when the assembled pupils paid the last public tribute of sorrow to their departed master. A monument to Dr. Arnold's memory, executed by Mr. Thomas, was placed in Rugby Chapel, the epitaph being written by his intimate friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, in imitation of those on the tombs of the Scipios, and of the early Christian inscriptions on similar subjects. Beautiful glimpses of Dr. Arnold's

career are to be found in that deservedly popular book by Thomas Hughes, "Tom Brown's School Days." Fifteen years after the doctor's death, his distinguished son, Matthew Arnold, wrote his noble and deathless memorial lines, entitled "Rugby Chapel." The great Head-master of Rugby belonged conspicuously to that lordly race of guides and pioneers thus apostrophized by his poet-son—

"Beacons of hope, ye appear !
Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.
Ye alight in our van ! at your voice
Panic, despair, flee away.
Ye move through the ranks, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, reinspire the brave !
Order, courage, return ;
Eyes rekindling, and prayers
Follow your steps as ye go.
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march,
On, to the bound of the waste,
On, to the City of God !"

VI.
BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

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IN Samuel Wilberforce the world not only lost a man of the most varied gifts and accomplishments, but a representative divine of the English Church. His great intellectual powers, his brilliant wit, his social qualities, his eloquent and persuasive oratory, his skill as a diocesan administrator, and his earnest religious zeal and devotion, all marked him out as one of the most original and striking characters of the time. His energy was boundless and his will indomitable, and although he found himself at various stages of his career the centre of a violent opposition, he overcame his opponents, and was at length frankly acknowledged, even by those who most widely differed from him, to be one of the greatest of modern bishops.

Born at Clapham Common, near London, on the 7th of September, 1805, he was the third son of the eminent philanthropist, William Wilberforce, and his wife Barbara Ann, daughter of Mr. Isaac Spooner, of Elmdon Hall, Warwickshire. The Wilberforce lineage was an ancient one, being traced back to the days of Henry II., but it is

curious that no member of it entered Holy Orders until the time of Samuel Wilberforce and his two brothers Robert and Henry. These two brothers ultimately entered the Roman Catholic Church, as likewise did a third brother, William, who was trained for the bar. Samuel Wilberforce's early education was conducted by private tutors, but while they imparted knowledge, his mind and heart were chiefly affected, and his character moulded, by his father, who seems from the first to have had a powerful influence upon his son. He wrote to him constantly, his letters being full of solicitude that his boy should grow up noble, upright, and devout. One of the reasons which William Wilberforce had for not sending his son to a public school was that he might enjoy his unbroken confidence. "Only reflect," he wrote on one occasion, "if you appear one thing to me and quite another of the opposite kind to others of your own age, and I should ever discover this, how can I afterwards know when you are exhibiting your true and when your assumed character? I know that this is often one of the consequences of a youth's being at a great school, especially if his parents are pious, that he has one set of principles and ways of going on in all respects at school, and another at home. But it is chiefly for the very purpose of providing against this double system that pious parents do not like to send their children to public schools." The father seems to have taught his son early to look upon the Church as his future profession, but with the resolve to be a true minister of Christ, and one

having a just sense of the dignity and solemnity of the ministerial office.

When young Wilberforce entered into residence at Oriel College, Oxford, in the autumn of 1823, his father gave him manly and straightforward advice with regard to the choice of companions, the avoidance of debt, the nature of his recreations, etc. As Canon Ashwell observed in his biography of Bishop Wilberforce, "Nothing can be clearer than the predominating influence of his father on his early training—an influence, however, which rested altogether upon persuasion, and which addressed itself entirely to the conscience and the affections." Samuel Wilberforce's "personality yielded to none in its strongly marked individuality, its force, its tenacity of purpose, its determination to act up to an ideal consciously realized before the mind, and its absolute inflexibility of resolve." These qualities were the implanted gifts of nature, but the moral superstructure raised upon them, and the higher emotions and sympathies which distinguished the young undergraduate, were largely due to the judicious training and example of his father.

The Provost of Oriel when Samuel Wilberforce entered the college, was Dr. Copleston, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. The tutors were Hawkins, Tyler, and Jelf; and among its Fellows were Keble, Newman, and Pusey. The college had seventy-six undergraduates, and its commoners included Bramston, Ryder, Richard and Robert Hurrell Froude, and Herman Merivale. Into the discussions of the United Debating Society—which

afterwards acquired wider fame as the Union Society—young Wilberforce entered with much zest. He was a frequent and effective speaker; but his views in these undergraduate days were distinctly Liberal, growing more Conservative after his ordination. One speech which he delivered at the Union in May, 1824, was made the subject of comment in the papers. The question was the dethronement of Charles I., and Wilberforce and his brother Robert argued that it was justifiable. They were defeated by twenty votes to nine. In a second speech, Samuel Wilberforce inveighed against the system of borough patronage as being inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and on this occasion the Liberal side were only defeated by one vote. During the following winter session he endeavoured to persuade his fellow-students that "John Hampden deserved the gratitude of his country," but the motion was lost by twenty-five to fifteen. On the subject of Roman Catholic Emancipation he took the Liberal side; and on other occasions we find him denouncing the Alien Bill of 1793; condemning the system of fagging in public schools; supporting the system of education among the lower orders; condemning the character of Queen Elizabeth; censuring the erasure of Fox's name from the Privy Council; and also censuring the union between England and Ireland, as proposed in 1799.

It is interesting to find Samuel Wilberforce maintaining the following propositions during the debates of 1824-25: That Napoleon's seizure of power in 1799 was a misfortune for France; that

the power of the Crown in England had increased since the Revolution of 1688 ; that negro slavery ought to be abolished entirely ; that a censorship of the press was undesirable ; that the English barons were justified in calling in the French prince in the days of King John ; that Lord North's conduct as regards the War of American Independence was justifiable ; and that the recent policy of France towards Spain called for the interference of England. In the preparation of some of his speeches—notably in connection with those on the Alien Bill and the union with Ireland—he was assisted with copious notes by his father. But while William Wilberforce was glad for his son to acquire experience in public speaking, he declared that he should deeply regret it if it were to have the effect of making him too much of a politician. He also thus cautioned him against the dangers and temptations of political discussion : “ Watch, my dear Samuel, with jealousy whether you find yourself unduly solicitous about acquitting yourself creditably, whether you are much chagrined when you fail, or are puffed up by your success. Undue solicitude about popular estimation is a weakness against which all real Christians must guard with the most jealous watchfulness. The more you can retain the impression of your being surrounded by a cloud of witnesses of the invisible world—to use the Scripture phrase—the more you will be armed against this besetting sin ; for such it is, though styled the ‘ last infirmity of noble minds.’ ”

During this time Samuel Wilberforce read

deeply and rode well, for he was an accomplished horseman. Among the college friends he made were Lord Mahon, afterwards Lord Stanhope; Lord Encombe, afterwards Lord Eldon; Sir George Prevost, afterwards Archdeacon of Gloucester; Mr. Henry D. Ryder; Mr. Saunders, afterwards Dean of Peterborough; and Mr. Tower, afterwards Bishop of Gibraltar. This little circle of friends was sometimes called the Bethel Union, partly because its members avoided Sunday parties, and partly because of the prominence in religious matters of some of their fathers. But Samuel Wilberforce never eschewed amusements, and even in his undergraduate days he was uniformly careful in taking the most favourable view possible of men and their actions. In the Michaelmas Term of 1826 he took a first class in mathematics, and a second in classics; and in the following November he was an unsuccessful candidate for a Balliol Fellowship, though the general opinion had pointed to his election. Interesting letters passed at this time between Wilberforce and his friends, Isaac Williams, R. Hurrell Froude, Patrick Boyle, F. Oakeley, and H. F. Lyte, author of the much-admired hymn, "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide." A hope was for a time entertained that he would be ordained curate to Mr. Lyte, when he "would have commenced his clerical life among the fishermen of Torbay."

After leaving the university, young Wilberforce made a foreign tour, visiting France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. He entered France a Liberal, but he left it a Tory, his opinions

having undergone a change through witnessing the activity and influence of revolutionary ideas. He returned home in November, 1827, and on June 11, 1828, he was married, in Lavington Church, to Emily Sargent, daughter of the biographer of Henry Martyn. Soon afterwards he was nominated Curate-in-charge of Checkendon, near Henley-on-Thames, and on the 21st of December, 1828, he was ordained by the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Lloyd), entering upon his duties about a month afterwards. A year later he was ordained priest. His letters, written from Checkendon, show that politically he was now undergoing a strong reaction towards Toryism, for he was alarmed at the aspect of public affairs. This condition of feeling, as his biographer observes, lasted during the greater part of the next ten years. Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, a great friend of the elder Wilberforce, and a prominent member of the Church section of the Evangelical party, offered the young clergyman the pleasant rectory of Brighthelmston, in the Isle of Wight, and into this he was inducted June 12, 1830. More than a century and a half before, the living had been held by Bishop Ken.

Describing Samuel Wilberforce's course after his settlement at Brighthelmston, Canon Ashwell says, "From the very first days of his Brighthelmston life he appears always full of vivid interest in some public object, and with an instinctive tendency to strike out from his own centre and gather others into a circle round him, with the practical object of enlisting and directing their force towards what-

ever aim they had in view. And the great interest of these Brighstone years lies in this—that they exhibit him, so to speak, steadily working from the centre outwards, first mastering his own parish; then, young as he yet was, becoming unquestionably the most stirring personage among the island clergy; and then, after a few appearances in London and elsewhere, and after the brilliant episode of his Propagation Society tour in the counties of Devon and Cornwall during the autumn of 1839, promoted at four and thirty to the archdeaconry of Surrey. But during this period his interest in public affairs, Church matters especially, is unremitting, and his letters show how closely he was following the course of thought and of events, yet from a standpoint of his own, and with an independence of judgment which commands our notice from the beginning. Especially as regards the now historical, but at that time novel, Tractarian movement in the University of Oxford, there is a freedom of criticism and a balance of judgment which seem to show that, if his mind were capable of fear, that fear was the dread of surrendering his judgment into the keeping or guidance of another. He was a Churchman, and a High Churchman, from the first. Men like R. Hurrell Froude and F. Oakeley were among his intimate associates. He repeatedly expresses the keenest admiration for the intellect and powers of John Henry Newman; yet for all this, it is the more observable that all through these early years he maintained a position external to that great Oxford movement, to whose forces it was here-

after to be his special mission to give unity and direction."

When Wilberforce first arrived in his parish, his youthful aspect led to the exclamation, "Why, they've sent us a boy!" But after his first sermon the same speaker said, "I thought he was a boy, but I see he's a man." The young incumbent, when he had become a bishop, would frequently relate a capital anecdote of his early days at Brighstone. On first visiting the parish after accepting the living, the principal farmer asked him, "Be you going to keep the meadow (a small one on the glebe) in your own hands?" "Why?" asked Mr. Wilberforce. "Well, parson, you see, when late rector had it he used to cut his own grass, when I cut mine, and his being only a little picce, in course he gets all his up while most of mine be lying about; and then, sure enough, the very next Sunday he claps on the prayer for rain; so if you don't mind, I'd like to rent that meadow from you." Another anecdote reveals the necessity for great explicitness in preaching. Mr. Wilberforce had preached a sermon on the words, "Render therefore to all their dues: . . . *custom to whom custom*," etc. He was astonished to learn afterwards that he did not practise what he preached. "Why, sir," complained a parishioner to a friend of the rector, "he told us we ought to give custom to whom custom was due, and yet he doesn't deal in the village, but buys his things at Newport." But he was very popular, and a story is told that at evening service he would sometimes go on preaching till it grew "dark, so

that you could not see him ; but," added the narrator, "the people would have sat all night listening." He established a Sunday school, a preparation class for communicants, cottage services in the adjacent hamlets, and an allotment ground for the labourers, which was then a parochial novelty.

The Reform disturbances of 1831-32 were accompanied by a feeling of violent animosity against the bishops and clergy ; and Mr. Wilberforce's diary and letters show the forebodings he indulged for the future. Meantime he was active in his religious work, preparing a hymn-book for his parishioners, issuing his little volume of stories, entitled "The Note-Book of a Country Clergyman," and publishing his remarkable sermon on "The Apostolical Succession," which was delivered at the visitation of the Bishop of Winchester. In this sermon he called upon the clergy to "prize at a higher rate that unbroken succession whereby those who ordained us are joined unto Christ's own apostles ;" and he severely denounced the speculations of Dr. Arnold, and other specimens of "such latitudinarian Erastianism." In the year 1833 he sustained two severe bereavements, his father-in-law, Mr. Sargent, and his own honoured father both passing away. Before the year closed an incident of another kind was entered in his diary, for on the 7th of November he married, in Lavington Church, his friend, Henry Edward Manning (afterwards the cardinal), to his sister-in-law, Caroline Sargent. From the way in which Mr. Wilberforce's pulpit services were now in

request, he was evidently regarded as a coming man. The important rectory of St. Dunstan's, London, was offered him in 1834, but on the advice of the Bishop of Winchester (his own views coinciding) he declined it. At the important election of December, 1834 — which followed upon the Reform and the anti-Church legislation — Mr. Wilberforce felt that he could not support the Liberal candidate for Newport, Sir R. Simeon. He accordingly espoused the Conservative cause, holding strongly that the defence of the Church was one of the greatest needs of the time.

Wilberforce was strongly opposed to the appointment of Dr. Hampden as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, because of his support of university changes in favour of Dissenters, and because he regarded his method of treating theological subjects as subversive of all confidence in him as a teacher. The "Hampden controversy" caused intense excitement for a long period. In 1837 he completed Henry Martyn's "Letters and Journals" for the press, prefacing it by a memoir of Mr. Sargent, his late father-in-law. The next incident in his career was the proposed revival of Convocation. The vicarage of Leeds was offered to him in 1837, but he declined it, and it was accepted by his friend, W. F. Hook. Canon Ashwell speculates on the modifications which "might have been effected in the history of the Church of England had Samuel Wilberforce become Vicar of Leeds at the age of thirty-one, and had Walter Farquhar Hook remained at Coventry.

Differing widely in their gifts, in their training, and in the spheres of duty which they were called to fill, no two men did more to bring the Church revival of the nineteenth century to bear upon the Church at large. To the one it was allotted to form and to realize a new ideal of the work and character of an English bishop; to the other it was given to show what the parish priest of a great town might be and do. The future historian of the Church of England will delight to record their friendship as well as their services and achievements."

Wilberforce completed the "Life" of his father in 1838, and in forwarding a copy of it to Mr. Gladstone, he wrote him a remarkable letter, which shows how, at this early period, the highest things were expected of Mr. Gladstone. "There is no height," said his correspondent, prophetically, "to which you may not fairly rise in this country. If it pleases God to spare us violent convulsions and the loss of our liberties, you may at a future day wield the whole government of this land; and if this should be so, of what extreme moment will your *past steps* then be to the real usefulness of your high station! If there has been any compromise of principle before, you will not then be able to rise above it; but if all your steps have been equal, you will not then be expected to descend below them. . . . I would have you view yourself as one who may become the head of all the better feelings of this country, the maintainer of its Church and of its liberties, and who must now be fitting himself for this high vocation." At

a later stage, the ecclesiastic was in accord with the statesman on many public questions.

It was impossible that the Oxford movement, which originated in his own college, should not have a deep interest for Wilberforce. But while many of his friends were drawn thoroughly into it, he did not himself join the school of the "Tracts for the Times." He admired the talents of its leaders, but could not agree with them in all their leading views of doctrine. Indeed, when the movement developed a distinct party in the Church, he protested against it; and John Henry Newman eventually declined his contributions to the *British Critic* because he had preached against Dr. Pusey's theory of sin after baptism. In 1840 he published his beautiful allegory, "Agathos, and other Sunday Stories," in which he sought to combine the instruction and amusement of children with the instilling of Church principles; and the same year appeared the "Eucharistica"—prayers and meditations from the Anglican Fathers—to which he contributed a preface. He was at the same time very active and very eloquent in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Clerical honours and preferments were now showered rapidly upon Wilberforce. He had already been select preacher at Oxford, when in 1840 he became Archdeacon of Surrey, Canon of Winchester, and Rector of Alverstoke. His eloquence on public platforms carried all before it. He took a great interest in the missionary work

of the Church, and made a powerful speech at the Mansion House, in April, 1840, in connection with the operations of the Propagation Society, when his fervid and convincing oratory deeply moved the entire audience. The Bishop of London said to him afterwards, "I do not quite like hearing you, for you make me cry." Another public meeting, which was electrified by Archdeacon Wilberforce's eloquence, was that held on the 1st of June of the same year at Exeter Hall. It was a great anti-slavery demonstration called to inaugurate the ill-fated Niger Expedition under Captain Trotter, and Prince Albert made his first public speech in England on the occasion. One who was present states that the affair was slow, and the speeches were dull and wearisome, "when on a sudden a young man got up to move a resolution, and he spoke so much to the purpose, and with so much fire in manner and originality of matter, that the eyes of all were turned upon him, and thunders of applause arose when he sat down. The prince inquired his name—it was Samuel Wilberforce. Sir Robert Peel, in a following speech, complimented him as his father's worthy son; and he was altogether the hero of the day." Six months later, Prince Albert nominated the archdeacon as one of his chaplains, and, in making him the offer, wrote as follows: "The Prince has additional pleasure in making this proposition to you, in looking back to the great meeting at which he presided, and at which your talents so ably advocated the cause of humanity and religion."

In 1841 the archdeacon was appointed to de

liver the Bampton Lectures—an honour which he highly esteemed. His primary Charge as archdeacon was a remarkable utterance, its boldness and vigour affording a striking contrast to many of the Charges delivered at the time. Full and comprehensive in its range, it surveyed the whole field of Church work and the Church questions of the hour. The Charge “concluded with a reference to the divided condition of the various classes of society, and a powerful statement of the office of the Church in harmonizing and knitting together the component parts of the nation.” As Rector of Alverstoke, the archdeacon did a great work, his ministrations and various forms of Christian effort being appreciated to an extraordinary degree. There was scarcely a field of labour—physical, mental, moral, and spiritual—into which he did not infuse new life.

To show how he influenced the poor and the spiritually careless, one anecdote may be cited. Many years after he left Alverstoke, not long before the close of his own life, he was summoned to a humble cottage in Oxfordshire, to see a woman dangerously ill. He went up to the chamber where she lay a-dying. The sufferer looked up at him, and said, “You know me not, but I knew you thirty years ago. When I was a girl I was visited by you at Alverstoke, and you asked me whether I would be prepared for Confirmation. I hesitated, and said, ‘No.’ You would not leave me, however, but sat down and spoke to me and to my young cousin, who was staying with me. We had just before engaged to go to

Porchester Castle on the following Saturday for a frolic with two soldiers, with whom we were slightly acquainted; but we listened to your words, and you left us to consider whether we would be candidates for the blessing and the gift which was promised to the confirmed. Together, as by one intent and purpose, we said to each other, 'We will give up Porchester, and be candidates for Confirmation.' So we were taught by you and confirmed; and ever since that hour we have lived in the faith and love of Christians; now I am to die in peace." "She lifted up her languid body," said the bishop, "to receive my benediction; and then she fell asleep in the Lord."

The greatest sorrow of Wilberforce's own life overtook him in 1841, in the death of his wife. The blow was a crushing one, for he was a man of no ordinary affections. His biographer justly observes, with regard to this severe visitation, and also with respect to certain erroneous views which have sometimes been taken of Samuel Wilberforce's character, "It is scarcely too much to say that all the mere personal aims of ordinary ambition were burnt up by the fiery fierceness of that one great sorrow which fell upon him at the exact moment when he was passing into a sphere where such aims would naturally have their fullest influence. That which is most noticeable is the fact that, while the blow crushed out the personal ambition, it in no way crushed the man. On the contrary, it acted as an abiding stimulus to every sense of duty, so that the increased energy and even eagerness with which he pursued each object

that his multifarious duties set before him, and which many persons alleged as certain proofs of his ambition, were in reality due to the very cause which had subdued it. No doubt there would have been but few men who would have felt the blow so keenly; fewer still on whom its lessons and its influence would have been so abiding; fewest of all those who would have retained the energy and the elasticity after the personal motives had been destroyed."

Archdeacon Wilberforce's diary after his great loss testifies how for months and years his dead wife appeared ever near to him, stimulating him to nobler aims, higher service, and holier living. He felt his affliction to be like the call to Abraham of old to "come out," and to care no more for the things of this world. We constantly find that year after year, down to the close of his life, his thoughts turned to his lost wife; and after his death there was found amongst his papers this touching poem, entitled "A Vision," the date showing that it was written at Lavington, on the 10th of February, 1849—

"I sat within my gladsome home, and round about me played
Four children in their merriment, and happy noises made;
Beside me sat their mother in her loveliness and light,—
I ne'er saw any like her, save in some vision bright.

"It was in life's young morning that our hearts together grew,
Beneath its sparkling sunlight and in its steeping dew;
And the sorrows and the joys of a twelve-years' changeful life
Had drawn more closely to me my own, my blessed wife.

"Then at our door One knocked, and we rose to let Him in,
For the night was wild and stormy, and to turn Him thence were
sin;
With a 'Peace be to this household!' His shelterers He blest,
And sat Him down amongst us like some expected Guest.

"The children's noise was hushed, the mother softly spoke,
And my inmost spirit thrilled with the thoughts which in me
woke ;

For it seemed like other days within my memory stored,
Like Mamre's tented plain or Emmaus' evening board.

"His form was veiled from us, His mantle was not raised,
But we felt that eyes of tenderness and love upon us gazed ;
His lips we saw not moving, but a deep and inward tone
Spake like thunder's distant voices unto each of us alone—

"Full often ye have called Me, and bid Me to your home,
And I have listened to your words, and at your prayer am come,
And now My voice is strange to you, and "Wherefore art Thou
here?"

Your throbbing hearts are asking, with struggling hope and
fear.

"It was My love which shielded your helpless infant days ;
It was My care which guided you through all life's dangerous
ways ;

I joined your hearts together ; I blessed your marriage vow ;
Then trust and be not fearful, though My ways seem bitter now.'

"We spake no word of answer, nor said He any more,
But as One about to leave us He passed to the door ;
Then ere He crossed the threshold He beckoned with His hand,
'That she who sat beside me should come at His command.

"Then rose that wife and mother, and went into the night ;
She followed at His bidding, and was hidden from our sight.
And though my heart was breaking, I strove my will to bow,
For I saw His hands were pierced, and thorns had torn His
brow."

From the time of his first sermon before her, the Queen had a great regard for Archdeacon Wilberforce ; and this regard was shared by the Prince Consort and the whole of the court. Letters written by Lady Lyttelton—governess to the Queen's children—in 1842 testify to the hold he had obtained upon the royal circle. "It is hard," she said on one occasion, after speaking of his moving eloquence, "if all who know him are not altogether Christians sooner or later. And I need

not add, for it is a necessary part of his character, that he never parades or brings forward his religious feelings. They are only the *climate* of all his mind ; talents, knowledge, eloquence, liveliness, all evidently Christian. And it is very pleasant to observe the hearty respect and regard with which every one behaves to him. What good he has in his power !—ten talents indeed." Many of his finest sermons at Windsor and the other royal residences were written before breakfast, while others were delivered almost entirely extempore. He combined the beautiful and poetic with the thoughtful and pathetic in his discourses in a remarkable degree. The Earl of Carlisle, who heard the archdeacon speak at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel held at York, said he "made a speech of two hours, combining, as I should imagine, the qualities of his father, Macaulay, and Ezekiel. It produced immense effect, and some of its pictures of our national neglect of religion were tremendous."

The Oxford movement exhibited another acute phase in 1845. A few years before, Archdeacon Wilberforce had resisted the entreaties of his friends to support Mr. Isaac Williams—one of the authors of "Tracts for the Times"—in the Oxford Poetry Professorship ; and not long after this he had condemned the famous sermon on the Holy Eucharist for which Dr. Pusey was suspended from further preaching in the university pulpit for two years. Now the archdeacon was called upon to take sides in the conflict which arose over a work published by Mr. W. G. Ward, of Balliol.

College, entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church considered." In the course of this work the writer declared the English Reformation to be "wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard," and he affirmed that in subscribing the Articles he had renounced no one Roman doctrine. In consequence of this, the Hebdomadal Board agreed to submit to Convocation three propositions—the first condemning the book, the second degrading Mr. Ward, and the third recommending a more stringent declaration of assent to the Articles required before taking degrees. The third proposition evoked such a storm of remonstrance from men of all shades of opinion that it was withdrawn. But when Convocation met in February, 1845, the first and second propositions were carried. Mr. Ward's book was condemned by the large majority of 776 to 386, and the proposition to degrade Mr. Ward himself was carried by the much smaller majority of 569 to 511. "Among those who voted against both propositions," says Canon Ashwell, "were Mr. Gladstone, Archdeacons R. I. Wilberforce, Manning, and Thorpe, Dr. Pusey, Dr. Hook, Dr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), Mr. John Keble, and Mr. Gresley. Dr. Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, voted for the condemnation of the book, but not for the degradation of the writer. Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce voted for the degradation of the writer as well as for the condemnation of the book—a step which, as will be seen from the foregoing list of names, separated him from many with whom he was closely con-

nected, and from several with whom, in the main, he was disposed to act." The archdeacon considered that, as "Romanizing was the present danger," all who signed the Articles should accept them in their plain and natural sense, and as a protest against distinctly Romish doctrines and Romish supremacy.

In March, 1845, the archdeacon was offered, at the Queen's wish, the deanery of Westminster, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Turton to the bishopric of Ely. After some deliberation, and a visit to London, he accepted the post. He thus wrote, respecting the appointment, to Miss Louisa Noel, a lady whom he always regarded and addressed as his sister, and who had for many years received his confidences: "I see so greatly its importance as quite to have often a sinking heart, but He can make me able. I beg you to ask for me wisdom, discretion, and understanding. Its being close to the seat of government, civil and ecclesiastical, makes it wholly unlike any other deanery. Sir James Graham, after enlarging on its openings, summed it up with this: 'It is one of the very finest positions in the Church of England.'" On the 17th of April he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford; and on the 21st he delivered his farewell Charge as Archdeacon of Surrey, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, when his "parting from his clergy and churchwardens was touchingly affectionate."

An extraordinary attack made upon the new dean by the *Morning Post*—which charged him with "avarice" for continuing to hold the living of

Alverstoke with the deanery of Westminster—was not only triumphantly refuted, but the facts enable us to see what a noble spirit of generosity had animated him during the five preceding years. The annual value of Alverstoke was £1287, but the rector had barely drawn £400 per annum for himself, the rest having gone in charities, repairs, churches, schools, etc. He had obtained, or largely contributed himself, to permanent Church objects, in the five years, the following amounts: Anglesey Church, £1200; Alverstoke Schools, £900; Elson Church, £2400; Gosport School, £1180; Gosport Church, £4300; total, £9980.

Before the year 1845 closed, still higher preferment awaited the new dean, for on the 14th of October he was offered, and accepted, the bishopric of Oxford, vacated by the translation of Bishop Bagot to the see of Bath and Wells. Her Majesty, said Sir Robert Peel, had most cordially acquiesced in the appointment, "with very kind expressions towards yourself on her part and on that of the Prince." Some days later the Prince Consort addressed to him a long and friendly communication as to what he conceived to be the duties of an English bishop. Dr. Wilberforce was only forty years of age when he accepted the charge of one of the most important dioceses in the English Church. That he duly felt his responsibilities is shown by the following extract from a letter which he addressed to his "dearest male friend," the Rev. R. C. (afterwards Archbishop) Trench: "As I have sometimes viewed it in times past in the distance and uncertain, it has seemed that such a

post would open to me such room for service, that I have desired, if it were God's will, greatly, that I might be offered it ; but now that it is come indeed, all its fearful responsibilities, its doubtful questions, its far-reaching issues, and my own blindness and infirmity, seem to stare me out of all conscience. I beseech you, true and dearest friend, that you pray for me as you have never prayed before, that I may not, in entering on this office, do any injury to Christ's Holy Church, or ruin my own soul ; but that His grace may rest upon me largely, and sanctify and save me, and make me strong and wise for Him."

The bishop, however, had already given evidence that he possessed extraordinary gifts as an organizer, an administrator, and a leader—qualities absolutely indispensable in the management of an English diocese. His power to influence men in numbers was an instinct. It is related that one day at Lavington House, when the guests were leaving the dining-room, Richard Cobden said to the person standing next to him, "What think you of our host? I say, if he had not been a priest, he must have been a Prime Minister." And the late Lord Chelmsford said, "It was lucky for some of us that he was a bishop, and not a lawyer, for had he been one of us, he must certainly have been Lord Chancellor." Nor should it be forgotten here that Dr. Wilberforce had had experience "in every position inferior to that of bishop, which the Church of England offers to her clergy. He had been an assistant curate, an incumbent, a rural dean, a canon, an archdeacon, a royal chaplain,

and finally a dean. It is probable that such an experience on the part of a newly made bishop is altogether unprecedented."

The bishop's brother, Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, preached the consecration sermon, which contained an affecting allusion to their common father; and the consecrating prelates were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Samuel Wilberforce's own bishop (the Bishop of Winchester), and the Bishops of London and Salisbury. The time was a critical one both in the religious and the political sphere. On the one hand, the Tractarian movement was just at its crisis, the whole Church being greatly moved; while on the other hand, the entire country was in a ferment, owing to the Anti-Corn Law agitation. Shortly after the bishop's consecration, Sir Robert Peel resigned, but returned to office again, pledged to repeal the corn laws, in consequence of the terrible potato famine in Ireland. Notwithstanding a severe attack of illness, Bishop Wilberforce took up all the episcopal labours which he possibly could; and the late Bishop of Ely has borne testimony to the fact that the most telling part of his work was to be found in his confirmations and ordinations. They formed quite a new departure as regards their thoroughness and the greater solemnity and importance which he caused to be attached to them. As the bishop had affinities with all the great parties in the Church, he was able to enter sympathetically into the interests and aspirations of all who came before him in his theological examinations.

The bishop found the task before him in con-

nection with his see no light one, for it was practically that of organizing and consolidating a see which had recently been greatly enlarged. He had "not merely to reform but almost to form the diocese." Notwithstanding some bright exceptions, the episcopal office had in various ways suffered decline in England in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Bishop Wilberforce infused a new spirit into episcopal affairs, which has thus been described by Canon Ashwell: "The *idea* of episcopacy with which Bishop Wilberforce set out, and which through life he consistently illustrated, was essentially his own. According to him, the bishop was to be as much the mainspring of all spiritual and religious energy in his diocese as a parochial clergyman is bound to be in his parish. It was the bishop's duty to supply, not merely advice and counsel to his clergy, but also *momentum*, which the sense of real supervision, however kindly and sympathizing, always communicates to the mind and energy of the person supervised. It was his to care for the diocese as a whole, to learn for himself where needs existed, to take the necessary steps for supplying those needs, and to take care also that it was known that he so acted, and that he was at all times not only accessible to all men, but also ready personally to investigate on the spot any case that was brought before him." As an illustration of this supervision, Canon Ashwell added his own personal experience that "during the ten years 1853-1862, both inclusive, of his tenure of office in the diocese of Oxford, no long period ever passed by, especially

while he was yet young in the diocese, without some unexpected call from the bishop, always most kindly and genial, but as uniformly followed by a careful inspection of the work which was going forward. And, since the bishop's papers have been placed in his hands for the purposes of his biography, he has been interested to find that in almost every instance these passing calls were noted in the bishop's diary, together with a record of his impression of the condition in which he found things."

Again quoting his biographer: "Had Samuel Wilberforce been Bishop of Carlisle or Ripon, his example as the reviver of the true diocesan system might have been equally admirable; but it might have been far less widely known and appreciated. Moreover, his personality must have been largely withdrawn from the centre of English life, and with that withdrawal one great stimulus to the interest which was felt in his proceedings must have been wanting. As it was, everybody saw the Bishop of Oxford; almost everybody, in some sense, knew him; everybody heard of what he was doing; his diocese came up to the very verge of the metropolis; his example, therefore, was close under the eyes of all who were open to be influenced by it. The sphere of his labour was exactly the one to bring his discharge of the episcopal office and of diocesan duty into the utmost prominence, and that with exceptional rapidity. To all this must be added the comparatively early age at which he came to the see. It was an age when, in an unspoiled nature, en-

thusiasm is still undimmed, and the powers both of body and mind hardly yet at their fullest ; an age which unites the fire of earlier years with the experience of later ; one, too—and this is no minor consideration—at which a man can enter upon a great work without the haunting consciousness of a future too brief for its completion. Truly the career of Bishop Wilberforce offers an example of that which is too rarely seen—the concurrence of capacity and opportunity. The result has been what the whole Church knows—Bishop Wilberforce has revolutionized the idea of episcopacy throughout the whole English-speaking world.”

For nearly twenty-five years Bishop Wilberforce occupied the see of Oxford, the diocese of which consisted of the three counties of Oxford, Berks, and Bucks. During the quarter of a century preceding his consecration, namely, from 1820 to 1845, the official records show that only twenty-two new churches were built in the above three counties, and about four rebuilt and eight restored or enlarged. During Bishop Wilberforce’s episcopate no fewer than 106 new churches were built, while fifteen were rebuilt and 250 restored. Nor did this by any means exhaust the bishop’s labours for increasing the spiritual provision in his diocese, as we shall see.

He further took an intense personal interest in every question, and acquired great influence, not only over individuals, but over public bodies, and in the university itself. To appeals for advice and pecuniary help he was ever ready to listen, and many anecdotes are related of his liberality.

Then, too, his very unconventional methods of proceeding attracted those who welcomed a man full of freshness and vigour. "I recollect," remarked one who became the senior member of the university, "when a Bishop of Oxford never drove into Oxford without four horses and two powdered footmen ; and what does Sam do? He gets upon a horse and rides in by himself, without so much as a groom behind him! I met him myself to-day." When he went up to London to attend Parliament, his life there was equally indefatigable as at Oxford. As he said, he had "sometimes forty-five letters to write in one day, besides all the run of a London life ; and sermons to write, and time *to be silent in.*" It was in the midst of these activities that his heart was lacerated by the secession to Rome of so many whom he loved. They included at one time or another his brothers Robert, William, and Henry ; Archdeacon Manning and Mr. G. D. Ryder, his brothers-in-law ; Mrs. Ryder, Miss Sophia Ryder, and finally the bishop's only daughter Emily, and her husband, the Rev. H. J. Pye. This unexampled experience told heavily upon him for a time, and the long list of secessions brought a temporary unpopularity upon himself—so much so that at one time he contemplated the resignation of his see. Happily, that event was averted.

In the House of Lords the Bishop of Oxford made a distinct mark as an orator. During the first session of his presence there (1846) he spoke on several important measures. First, there was the Religious Opinions Bill—a bill brought in

by the Government to repeal certain Acts of Parliament against the Roman Catholics. The bill was vehemently opposed by the Bishop of Exeter, but was as warmly supported by Bishops Thirlwall and Wilberforce, though on different grounds. The latter "supported the bill as removing penalties which were both 'useless and unjust,' and which he fully agreed were a 'disgrace to the Statute-book.' But he emphatically refused to admit that in so doing he was abandoning any position which had ever been taken up by the Church of England, as would be inferred from what had been said by the Bishop of St. David's. So far from its being true that the Church was in any way responsible for these Acts, they were all of purely civil origin." But the time was not ripe for this legislation, and it was not until 1868 that an Act was passed abolishing the oath of abjuration, and substituting "one oath for the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration." A second measure—also an ecclesiastical one—on which the Bishop of Oxford delivered a powerful speech was that of Earl Powis for rescinding the proposed union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor for the purpose of providing for the immediate formation of a bishopric of Manchester. Dr. Wilberforce pleaded the cause of the two Welsh bishoprics, which were eventually retained unmerged, and also the formation of the diocese of Manchester, which likewise became an accomplished fact.

[But it was his speech on Sir Robert Peel's Bill for the Abolition of the Corn Laws which most clearly revealed his powers as a debater of the

first order. The bishops had been specially appealed to, as guardians of the interests of the poor and of the clergy, to oppose a measure which, it was argued, must injure both. The Bishop of Oxford denied that the episcopal bench represented any class interests; they were there to represent all orders of the community. For his own part, he must support the bill, though in so doing he was breaking away from old associations and old prejudices. After citing weighty arguments in support of the measure, this really great speech became "a passionate address on behalf of the bill, as one calculated to raise the agricultural labourers from a state of depressing poverty, with which he (the Bishop), as having for many years been a rural clergyman, was only too bitterly acquainted. It was a speech to be heard rather than read; and it denounced in no measured terms the opposition to the bill on the score of sympathy with the poor. What, he asked, did those know of their real condition who only saw them on days of forced festivity, pretending to drink, out of empty glasses, 'health to their landlord and prosperity to agriculture'? The bishop concluded with a peroration in which he told the peers that their power indeed was great, but that it could not stand against the rising tide of a nation's convictions; and he besought them not to place their house in a position in which it should seem to represent the hereditary wealth, but not the hereditary wisdom, justice, and virtue of the country." This speech was justly described by the Prince Consort's private secretary as "un-

selfish and patriotic." A fourth oratorical effort by the bishop, in his first session, was made in opposition to the Government bill for the admission of slave-grown sugar on equal terms with the free-labour sugar of our own colonies. The bishop's main argument was that the opening of a new market would give a fresh stimulus to the production of the slave-grown article, and therefore also to the slave-trade itself. The bill, however, was carried, but the bishop was joined in a protest against it by Lords Ashburton, Brougham, and Denman. In the following session Bishop Wilberforce delivered an eloquent and convincing speech in support of the Ten Hours (Factory) Bill. For this he was ever afterwards regarded with gratitude by the factory operatives, and when, eleven years later, he visited Bradford to take part in a memorable meeting of the Propagation Society, he was presented with an address, which showed how deep and lasting was the impression created by his action.

Into what is known as the "Hampden controversy" Bishop Wilberforce was necessarily drawn from his position in the Church and as Bishop of Oxford. In November, 1847, Dr. Hampden was recommended to the Queen, by Lord John Russell, for the bishopric of Hereford. He had occupied successively the positions of Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Regius Professor of Divinity; yet he had passed under the censure of Convocation for his unorthodox opinions. On his nomination to the see of Hereford, an ecclesiastical

controversy arose such as has not since been paralleled. There is no doubt that Dr. Hampden's theological views were equally distasteful to the two great schools of opinion in the English Church. Dr. Wilberforce took a leading part in formulating a protest by the episcopal bench, which was signed by the following thirteen bishops: Blomfield of London, Sumner of Winchester, Bethell of Bangor, Bagot of Bath and Wells, Percy of Carlisle, Gilbert of Chichester, Turton of Ely, Philpotts of Exeter, Monk of Gloucester and Bristol, Kaye of Lincoln, Wilberforce of Oxford, Murray of Rochester, and Denison of Salisbury. Archbishop Howley, who had written to the premier already in the sense of the remonstrance, but in stronger terms, thought it better that his episcopal brethren should act independently of him. His views may be gathered from his remark to Lord Aberdeen, that "he would rather go to the Tower than consecrate Hampden." Lord John Russell received the remonstrance, but declined to give way. Shortly afterwards a protest from nearly five hundred laymen, including many peers and members of the House of Commons, was presented to the premier, but he upheld the appointment as one calculated to strengthen the Protestant character of the Church. Fifteen out of the twenty-two heads of houses in Oxford supported Dr. Hampden; and he was likewise supported by about two hundred and fifty members of Convocation, but four hundred and ninety members of Convocation were against him. The Bishop of Oxford wrote to the premier to the

effect that "reasonable men do not wish to see Dr. Hampden put down by clamour ; they would be the first to protest against a vote of the Oxford Convocation being set above the royal supremacy. But they believe that the highest of all interests requires that a divine, if only charged by sufficient authority with unsoundness in the truth, should not be consecrated a bishop until he has cleared himself of the charge." The appointment was carried through, however. Bishop Wilberforce next thought he saw a way out of the difficulty, and hoping to draw from Dr. Hampden a declaration of orthodoxy, he authorized a prosecution against him in the Court of Arches. This would give full opportunity for definite charges to be made and answered. The bishop disclaimed any spirit of hostility to Dr. Hampden in sanctioning this course, which indeed, he said, was forced upon him as an imperative duty, and caused him the deepest pain. Finding, after further consideration, that the prosecution was likely to prove abortive, and having satisfied himself that no absolutely heretical doctrine was definitely taught in Dr. Hampden's "Bampton Lectures," the bishop ordered the withdrawal of the prosecution. This decision gave deep offence to many of the bishop's High Church friends, who did not regard certain concessions made by Dr. Hampden as at all adequate ; and umbrage was also created at court, where the bishop's proceedings were objected to as an attack upon the Crown's right of nomination. In the end, Dr. Hampden was consecrated, and the storm died away.

By way of showing the Bishop of Oxford's interest in all movements affecting the people at large, we may pause here to note his action in connection with the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851. At a preliminary meeting held at Willis's Rooms in February, 1850, the bishop moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Lord Ashley, and supported by Lord Canning: "That this meeting is of opinion that all consumers, especially the working classes, will be materially benefited by such an exhibition as that of 1851, from the tendency it will have to bring into general use the best productions." The bishop's speech had much weight with the country in furthering the projected exhibition. The Prince Consort, in thanking him for it, said he considered it was by far the best that was delivered. Indeed, it was regarded as so judicious, so eloquent, and so likely to prove effective in the country, that it was decided to print it for circulation among the working classes, with which classes, it was hoped, "the dignity of labour" would become a proud and valuable watchword. An influential committee was formed, and the bishop took a leading part in inviting different persons to help in the work. The success of this first great exhibition is matter of history.

When Bishop Wilberforce resumed without dispute his leadership over the High Church party, that eminent party was somewhat unpopular with the nation from causes many of which could not fairly reflect upon itself. The bishop's position in particular was a most difficult one at this juncture. He was faced, on the one hand, by cases like that

of Mr. T. W. Allies, against whom he resolved to institute proceedings for the promulgation of Romish doctrines. He forbore from these proceedings on the urgent representations of Baron Alderson, who convinced him that the Church must suffer if the case failed, which was quite possible. Mr. Allies subsequently joined the Roman Catholic Church. The famous "Gorham case" was one of an opposite kind. The Bishop of Exeter had refused to institute Mr. Gorham to the vicarage of Brampford Speke, on the ground that he denied the spiritual efficacy of the sacrament of baptism. The Arches Court of Canterbury upheld the bishop, and Mr. Gorham appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Here the decision was in his favour, on the ground that differences of opinion on some points were consistent with subscription to the Articles, and that similar opinions to Mr. Gorham's had been maintained without censure by many eminent prelates and divines. For two years the Gorham case formed the topic of polemical discussion in the pulpit and in the press. The judgment of the Judicial Committee had not been unanimous. While the majority included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, there were two dissentients—Bishop Blomfield and Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Knight Bruce. It must also be pointed out that, while the judgment was generally in Mr. Gorham's favour, it by no means sanctioned the view sometimes erroneously put forward, that it is competent for a clergyman of the Church of England to hold without qualification that infant children are not

regenerated by virtue of the sacrament of baptism. This case caused Bishop Wilberforce deep solicitude. He took the sensible view, however, that the judgment only affirmed that the Evangelical body were not to be expelled. But feeling that something must be done to put ecclesiastical judgments on a better basis, he supported a bill, introduced by the Bishop of London, for removing all cases affecting doctrine from the Judicial Committee to the Upper House of Convocation. In his speech he argued that "purely spiritual questions ought to be left to purely spiritual judges." Nevertheless, with the exception of four bishops, the episcopal bench remained neutral, and the bill was lost by eighty-four votes to fifty-one.

Intense excitement was caused in September, 1850, by the issue of a papal bull establishing a Roman hierarchy in England. A cry of "Papal aggression" arose, and the whole nation was speedily in a ferment. The bishop presided at meetings called to condemn the papal action, and delivered able speeches in relation thereto, although he was suspected by some at this time of leaning towards Romish dogmas. An extract from a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Dr. Dallas will show the nature of his religious views clearly: "It is utterly untrue that there has ever been any change in my opinions, or that I have encouraged, promoted, or protected Tractarianism (properly so called), or that I do not see its tendency towards Rome, or that there has been any uncertainty in my course. I *was* a Church of England man of the school of Hooker, Beve-

ridge, and Andrewes, and so I am now. I *always* held the doctrine of the apostolical succession, *vide* my first sermon before the Bishop of Winchester; of baptismal regeneration, *vide* my sermons before the Queen. I always held the great evangelical truths as the life of my soul; I always opposed real Tractarianism, *i.e.* the putting tradition into the place which Holy Scripture alone can occupy, ceremony in the place of substance, giving to the sacraments the character belonging only to our Lord, craving after confession and absolution, etc., as sacramentals. I see, if possible, the evil of these things with increasing plainness, and witness against them. I have never ceased to protest against them, but because I have had dear friends who were Tractarians, because between angry parties, I, God helping me, have held and will hold what I esteem the truth of both and the party violence of neither, I am reviled as uncertain. It is hard to bear, and, as my heart craves after sympathy and trust above all other gifts, the temptation has often beset me to cast off the burden by the easy course of adopting party cries; but I dare not do it."

Bishop Wilberforce said, in describing his attitude towards the religious controversies of the time, "I am for the party of the Church of England, and nothing narrower." But he longed for unity, and earnestly strove to hold the balance between the two conflicting parties. That he had no sympathy with either latitudinarianism or Romanism, however, is shown by his attitude towards Dr. Hampden on the one hand, and his

inhibition of Dr. Pusey on the other, for methods of teaching which it was his firm conviction led directly towards Rome—though this inhibition was subsequently removed on representations made by Dr. Pusey. The bishop likewise discouraged private confession and absolution, on the ground that, while they were strong cordials for a time of sickness, they were not ordinary and necessary diet for the soul's health. When, in 1851, the Government introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, declaring the papal bull of 1850 null and void, and imposing a fine of £100 on all who should try to carry it into effect, Bishop Wilberforce supported the measure. But he warned ministers that, if they passed the bill merely to allay public feeling, and then allowed it to become a dead letter, harm instead of good would result to the Church. This was precisely what occurred; the measure was passed by a large majority, but it remained practically a dead letter, and was repealed in 1871.

Persistent attacks being made in the House of Commons upon the bishops for not efficiently ruling their dioceses, and no adequate defence of the episcopal bench being forthcoming from any quarter, Bishop Wilberforce and his friends came to the conclusion that the Church must find a voice for itself. The Gorham judgment had established the unsatisfactory character of the Judicial Committee as a Court of Final Appeal for the Church, and the rejection of the Bishop of London's bill had demonstrated that there was no hope of redress from Parliament. Therefore Bishop Wilber-

force determined on making a strenuous effort for the revival of Convocation as a synodical body. The difficulties in the way would have daunted a less resolute spirit, and, in addition to meeting with much public opposition, his project was not favourably regarded at court, while it estranged from him his old friend, Archbishop Sumner. But the bishop regarded the interests of the Church as paramount, and these he felt could only truly be served by a synodical body. He had been convinced of this ever since 1840, and he now set earnestly to work to achieve his end. It required great circumspection to restrain the zeal of one side, and pacify the undisguised hostility of the other, "either of which"—as his son has remarked—"would infallibly have shipwrecked this revival in its infancy." Supported by faithful friends like Mr. Henry Hoare, the bishop laboured with untiring energy, and at length he was rewarded by the meeting of that body whose deliberations had fallen into desuetude for a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years. The first substantial advance was made in 1855, but it was not until 1860 that royal letters were obtained authorizing the transaction of business by Convocation.

Among institutions in which the bishop took a keen interest was the House of Mercy at Clewer. He closely watched its development from the first; but in January, 1853, he determined that none in future should be admitted who would not, whilst in it, be contented with the spiritual aid of bishop or chaplains. He dreaded lest it should "become a mere nest of true Puseyites," and insisted on a

full and absolute removal of crucifixes. In informing Dr. Pusey of his decision, he assured him that it was not directed specially at him, but at all foreign influences. A subsequent letter from the bishop to Dr. Pusey contained these noteworthy passages on sisterhoods generally: "Sisterhoods are at present an experiment amongst us; a failure at this moment might deprive us of them permanently. I therefore am bound to use every precaution to prevent failure. I believe, therefore, that I do right in adopting a rule which secures us from unascertainable spiritual influence and counsels, even at the risk of restricting the number of applicants, and I may reasonably ask those who engage with me in it to surrender some personal advantages (if it be such a surrender) for this work of God, trusting to Him to make up Himself whatever of outward aid they forfeit."

A subject which gave rise to heated discussions in Parliament, and which nearly rent Canada asunder, was the Canadian Clergy Reserves Bill, introduced by the Government in the English House of Commons during the session of 1853. The bill was one for enabling the Canadian Legislature to sell certain lands called the Clergy Reserves. These lands, amounting to half a million acres, were reservations for the clergy which had accumulated since 1791. In 1850 the Canadian Legislature voted an address to the Crown, praying to be allowed to deal with the land; and the Imperial Government acceded to the request by introducing the bill of 1853. It met with strenuous opposition, but nevertheless became law. The English

clergy were divided on the subject, and among those who supported the measure was Bishop Wilberforce. His attitude called down upon him a great deal of abuse, whereupon he thus defined his position: "I believe in my conscience (1) that this is a matter for colonial and not imperial legislation; (2) that the attempt to retain it (as I deem unjustly) for imperial legislation, with a view to preventing the secularization of the reserves, will infallibly be defeated; (3) that the only result of the attempt will be to affix to the Church the stigma of being opposed to colonial independence; and (4) that therefore, whatever be the issue, justice and true policy alike require that we should fight the battle in the Colonial, and not in the Imperial Legislature, and least of all in the House of Lords." One clergyman charged the bishop with having "made himself conspicuous as a champion for the robbery of the ecclesiastical endowment of the Anglo-Catholic Church," and with having, by his vote, "committed the awful sin of sacrilege." To him the bishop replied as follows: "I will not return any of your revilings, but simply say that I neither spoke nor voted for the despoiling of the Canadian Church: I would as soon have cut off my right hand. But I firmly believe (1) that the Canadian Legislature have a right to legislate as to these clergy reserves; and (2) that the sure way to lose them and the love of the Canadian people together is to withdraw that right. I foresaw that intemperate people would wrongfully abuse me when I resolved to act according to my conscience in this

matter; and from such abuse I humbly appeal to our common Judge."

But the most interesting incident in relation to this controversy was Bishop Wilberforce's defence of himself in the House of Lords. The Bishop of Exeter had quoted William Wilberforce as holding different views from his son, and had said that the latter had thus robbed his father of his highest honour—his name. The bishop's "Apologia," in reply, forms one of the most striking and touching passages in his public addresses. "I know," he said, "that the right reverend prelate did not mean what he said unkindly, but it will be in the recollection of noble lords that he drew a very long, a very plausible, and I am sure I may call it a very ingenious, argument from the conduct of one very dear to me; and to bear whose name is my highest honour and greatest blessing. The right reverend prelate declared that I had robbed that name of its highest honour by the argument I had used on this question. My lords, I must beg you to pause before you agree in that opinion, for I can assure you that there is no feeling dearer to my heart than the honour of that honoured name. I deem it to be my greatest boast to be sprung from one who, gifted with the vastest opportunities, with the friendship, the closest friendship, of England's greatest minister, the highest powers, the most commanding social position, used them all for no personal aggrandizement, and died a poor commoner—a poorer man than when he entered public life, seeing every one of his contemporaries raised to wealth and hereditary honours, leaving to his

children no high rank or dignity, according to the notions of this world, but bequeathing to them the perilous inheritance of a name which the Christian world venerated. My lords, I cannot bear that it should be said, though in the most oblique way, or, by any deduction from what I say, it should be held, that I have for an instant derogated from his fame."

Bishop Wilberforce warmly supported the Colonial Church Government Bill, and the Church Missionary Bill. The object of the latter was to enable the Church of England to consecrate and send out a bishop to Borneo, to which country Sir James Brooke—the Rajah of Sarawak—was returning. Both measures passed the House of Lords, but unfortunately this valuable legislation was defeated in the House of Commons. A home matter in which the bishop interested himself at this time related to the Rev. F. Denison Maurice. Dr. Maurice was Professor of Theology at King's College, London, but in consequence of the heterodox views expressed in his volume of "Theological Essays," the authorities felt that they had no option but to remove him from his professorship. The bishop, who with Mr. Gladstone entertained a high personal feeling for Dr. Maurice, while rejecting his views, endeavoured to mediate, but in vain.

The Cuddesdon Theological College was formally opened on the 15th of June, 1854, the scene at the inaugural ceremony producing a marked effect upon the eight bishops present. Bishop Wilberforce had been convinced of the necessity

for such a seminary as this from the first year of his episcopate, but difficulties of various kinds had hitherto intervened to prevent his wishes from being realized. The college had a threefold object, namely, devotion; parochial work; theological reading. Opportunities were furnished for prayer, private seclusion, and parochial labours; and there was to be constant access at all times to the bishop and the principal. The institution was made the subject of numerous pamphlet attacks, but its founder succeeded in living them down, as he had done many other attacks of a like nature.

Before the year 1854 closed the bishop was called on to endure a bitter trial by the secession of his brother Robert, Archdeacon Wilberforce, to Rome. Just before the separation the bishop wrote in his diary, "He is *the* one brother who is as my own soul, and we shall soon be parted, perhaps opposed, for two weary lives." The sorrowing brother, as well as Mr. Gladstone, who was the intimate friend of both, endeavoured to avert the secession by entreaty and argument, but all was without avail. At this juncture Archdeacon Denison preached the first of three sermons on the doctrine of the real presence, with the avowed intention of challenging public inquiry, but no active prosecution was instituted against him until two years later. Archdeacon Wilberforce regretted this, as a sharer of Denison's view, and he would also have welcomed his own prosecution for the doctrines he had expressed in his works on "The Holy Eucharist," and "Principles of

Church Authority." There was no prosecution, however, and he surrendered his position in his mother Church and went over to Rome. The blow was a terrible one to the bishop, whose anguish no one could gauge. But he steadfastly persevered in his noble work for the Church of England, with "the unwavering conviction that the presence of God was with her, and that in serving her he was serving the Lord to whom she belonged." He wrestled by day and night, and the power of his preaching "lay in the very reality which was often denied him ;" if he largely comforted others, as he manifestly did, it was "with the comfort wherewith he himself was comforted of God."

There were other things also to trouble the bishop, among them being the loss of court favour, which he regretted, not for any of the worldly or social advantages connected with it, but because it deprived him of exalted opportunities of doing good. However, he had a firm friend in Lord Aberdeen, who was greatly beloved by the Queen and the Prince Consort, and his lordship did much to remove the prejudice which had been created against the bishop in royal circles. The Prince Consort had imbibed a suspicion of Bishop Wilberforce's sincerity and disinterestedness. Lord Aberdeen showed the Prince that this was erroneous and unjust, and exclaimed, "Not all the queens and princes in Europe could make me believe that the Bishop of Oxford is a worldly minded or selfish man."

Passing from this, we come upon a beautiful letter written by the bishop to his son Herbert,

who in 1854 became a lieutenant in the Royal Navy. After exhorting him to the great work of self-education, the writer went on to say, "Rise up to your new position. Put away the narrowness of the midshipmen's mess. Do not allow yourself to *think* of your captain as being your enemy, etc., but throw yourself into the spirit of your noble profession. Remember how everything now depends on yourself. As a midshipman you were thought of as a boy. Tempers, passions, and any other faults were *punished*—your leave stopped, etc., and then they passed away. It will not be so now. *Now* you stand alone in the great life-struggle. I can help you far less than before. You must help yourself. Watch your temper; pray against giving way to it; you will find a great help against it in the self-education I have spoken of before. As your mind opens, and takes a greater interest in other things, you will be less tempted to irritation by those around you. I have only two more things to say. First, make the men under you love you, and they will serve you well; show them that you care about *them*, about their *feelings*, and they will soon serve you for love; there is a man's heart at the bottom in the worst of them. Secondly, remember God's eye, Christ's cross, and the free pardon for sin which it has bought for you, and that God's Holy Spirit *will* help you against all temptations if you will pray. May God Almighty bless you!"

Lieutenant Wilberforce was sent out on active service to the Crimea, and was on board the *Trafalgar* during the bombardment of Sebastopol

by the allied fleets. Returning to England, he was appointed in a few days to the *Hawk*, Captain Ommanney, in which ship he went to the Baltic. "The *Hawk* was employed on coasting service, necessitating continued boat-work. Although pressed by his captain to spare himself, Lieutenant Wilberforce was constantly out with the boats, and the exposure told on a frame already weakened by the fatigues of the Crimea." He finally returned to England in October, 1855, much worse than when he left. By January, 1856, alarming chest symptoms had shown themselves, and there was soon no hope. "It is an almost disabling blow," wrote the bishop to his friend, Mr. Cavendish; "but I trust that our gracious Lord will strengthen me to bear it without dishonouring Him. The change wrought in my dear boy's mind is wonderful. His tenderness and piety are come as the crown of the manful and courageous uprightness by which he has always been distinguished. But it is a bitter grief. Pray for us." The sufferer was taken to Torquay, not because there was hope of recovery, but because of his intense longing for one more sight of the sea he dearly loved. He died at Torquay, on the 28th of February, 1856, and his body was conveyed to Lavington, and interred close by that of his mother. Among many letters of condolence which reached the sorrowing father were two especially touching ones from the Rev. H. E. Manning and Mr. Gladstone. In the following February the bishop lost his brother Robert, to whom, as we have seen, he was devotedly attached.

The Bishop of Oxford stoutly opposed the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill, and carried important amendments to the measure, but these were struck out on the third reading. He consequently drew up a protest, embodying his reasons for dissenting from the bill, the chief of which were, first, because it permitted the intermarriage of divorced persons, contrary to the plain teachings of Scripture; secondly, because it afforded facilities to the rich which were not within reach of the poor, who would be driven to inferior local courts, thus encouraging collusive adultery; and thirdly, because the whole tendency of the bill was to dissolve the sanction, and endanger the purity, of God's great institution of family life throughout the land. The protest was signed by the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury, the Duke of Leeds, and Lords Nelson, Redesdale, and Desart. The Bishop of Exeter signed a separate protest.

In 1857 Bishop Wilberforce supplemented Cuddesdon College by establishing the Spiritual Aid Society, which was founded with the object of affording assistance to the more necessitous clergy in the maintenance of curates. Shortly afterwards he had to meet the attacks made upon Cuddesdon by the *Quarterly Review* and by the Rev. C. P. Golightly. The principal, the Rev. A. Pott, resigning at this time from ill health, and his resignation being followed some months afterwards by that of the vice-principal, the Rev. H. P. Liddon, Mr. Golightly assumed that these changes were in consequence of the criticisms passed upon the institution. This was not the case, however. Mr.

Liddon resigned because of the divergence between his own views and those of the bishop on confession and the Eucharist. The bishop had a genuine affection and admiration for the character and talents of Mr. Liddon, but both felt that harmony of view on important religious questions was necessary between the authorities of a college like Cuddesdon. The bishop had further to sustain attacks upon him in the press for defending the Rev. R. Temple West, Curate of Boyne Hill, who was accused of commanding a married female parishioner to make private confession to him, and of putting improper questions to her. The storm raged furiously round the bishop's head, but when the charges were inquired into by Dr. Phillimore, Archdeacon Randall, and other Commissioners appointed for the purpose, they found that they were not sustained by the evidence, and Mr. West was exonerated. In acknowledging with satisfaction the report of the Commissioners, the bishop let it be known, however, that he strongly discountenanced a system of habitual confession on the part of clergymen of the Church of England, for such a system of inquiry into the secrets of hearts must lead to innumerable evils. When the bishop went down to a great meeting at Bradford, on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he found a strong prejudice against him, but he turned the entire meeting in his favour. As one of the senior clergy of the diocese afterwards wrote, "They (the bishop's enemies) dress up, as it were, a lay figure of a prelate, loving auricular confession and highly

Tractarian, and call it you, and then wonder that you do or say anything inconsistent with this imaginary character. Every one who *really knows* you has heard you continually express admiration of all those, whether Puritan, Quaker, Evangelical, or others, who have realized some one great truth of the gospel and acted on it. . . . I have known you for many years in public and in private, in your serious and in your gayer moods, and I can declare that I never heard from you a word, or witnessed an action, inconsistent with your professions or unbecoming a Christian prelate."

Yet so persistently was the bishop misrepresented, that the Rev. C. P. Golightly—whose charges against Cuddesdon College had been disproved, and who had been condemned in costs in the Lavington case—issued, in 1859, a hostile pamphlet entitled "Facts and Documents showing the Alarming State of the Oxford Diocese, by a Senior Clergyman of the diocese." In this pamphlet the bishop was taunted with the fact that a number of his relatives had gone over to Rome; it was asserted that his diocese was the centre of a Romanizing movement; and that a stone representation of the Assumption of the Virgin had been dug up in Sandford churchyard, and placed prominently in the church—an incident which really occurred, only it was a hundred and fifty years before! The archdeacons and rural deans of the diocese met, and solemnly declared the statements in the pamphlet to be "presumptuous and unfounded calumnies," and an address

of confidence in the bishop was signed by more than five hundred clergymen in the diocese, headed by the father of the diocese, Dr. Wilson, brother of the Bishop of Calcutta. A correspondent of the *Guardian*, in severely condemning the pamphlet, published a record of one of the bishop's weeks of work. Said the writer, "I find that on Sunday week the bishop held a confirmation at Stony Stratford at 11, another at Calverton at 3, preaching at New Wolverton at 6.30. On Monday he confirmed at Beachampton at 11, at Shenley at 3, and preached at Stony Stratford. On Tuesday and Wednesday he confirmed at Haversham, Hanslope, North Crawley, and Newport Pagnell, preaching in the evenings at Hanslope and Newport Pagnell. Thursday he confirmed at Weston Underwood and Sherrington, preaching in the evening at Olney. Friday, confirmed at Great Wolston and North Wolverton, preaching at 7.30 at Buckingham. Saturday and Sunday appear to have been idle days, but from a private document I gather that from 11 to 12, his lordship, being at Buckingham, presided over a conference of his clergy, from 12 to 3.30 over a considerable synod of clergy and laity, from 3.30 to 6.30 he held a Confirmation in the parish church, and from 6.30 till 7.30 delivered his ordination Charge. Next morning, from 10.30 till 3 he was engaged with his ordination, at 4 he was at Lillingstone Dayrell, to confirm the children of two villages. Where shall we look, on or off the episcopal bench, for the like amount of ministerial exertion? For the bishop's Confirmation

addresses are not mere mechanical performances. Those earnest addresses, those stirring appeals, call for and imply prolonged efforts of thought and attention. He has been, in a manner, performing three full services daily, for the last eight days! What amount of anxious correspondence, public and private, interviews with candidates for ordination, and all the rest of a bishop's incidental duties, must not have been superadded to this?"

The bishop likewise received a spontaneous address of sympathy from upwards of four thousand laymen living at or near Reading; and at the first meeting, held at Oxford, to form the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa, when a speaker casually referred to the agitation in the Oxford diocese, the whole audience enthusiastically cheered the bishop; while at the close of the proceedings the entire meeting rose, and again expressed its sympathy for and confidence in his lordship, by vociferously cheering for some minutes. The second meeting in connection with this united mission was held at Cambridge, in the following November, when the bishop received from the university the honorary degree of LL.D. Here, also, extraordinary enthusiasm was shown when the public orator introduced his name.

Bishop Wilberforce took a profound interest in the appointment of missionary bishops, and he was much moved to thankfulness, in 1860, when Archdeacon Mackenzie, with his sister, two clergymen, and a small band of laymen, sailed for Africa, where the archdeacon was consecrated bishop.

The farewell service was held at Canterbury Cathedral, at which Bishop Wilberforce "preached a long-remembered sermon to the immense congregation which had assembled to wish God-speed to the first missionary bishop who was on the eve of leaving England for Africa." As showing the versatility of the bishop, we find him in quick succession taking part in a retreat at Cuddesdon; visiting Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds on behalf of the Central African Mission; speaking at the meetings of the British Association at Oxford—defending the extension of commerce and Christianity in Central Africa, and ably combating the Darwinian theory of the origin of species; then earnestly beseeching ministers in the House of Lords not to exclude the Bible from the Government schools in India; and finally delivering his triennial charge, in which he summed up the work of the diocese.

Becoming practically the leader of the English bishops after the retirement of Blomfield of London, Bishop Wilberforce guided the policy of the Church in the troublous times which followed. Dr. McNeile said, "In our conflict with infidelity he is our invaluable champion;" and the Low Church party generally, as well as the High, turned to him for direction and advice in matters seriously affecting the faith. On the appearance of "Essays and Reviews," the bishop condemned it in a powerful article in the *Quarterly Review*, and he also took the lead in procuring a synodical condemnation of the work by Convocation. "The decision thus arrived at," remarks Mr. Reginald G.

Wilberforce, in the third volume of his father's "Life," "besides its moral value as a vindication of divine truth, had some important bearings. For the first time since 1711 the Church of England had pronounced synodically upon a question of doctrine. The silence of a hundred and fifty years had been broken, and she had again asserted her position as having authority in controversies of faith. With regard to Bishop Wilberforce, the firmness and skill which he had manifested throughout these discussions may be said to have finally established his supremacy as a leader both in Convocation and in the Church at large." It was in connection with this matter that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Westbury, in stating the views of the Government upon the action of Convocation, made a direct personal attack on Bishop Wilberforce. The bishop delivered a crushing reply, yet one at the same time dignified, and free from any appearance of irritation. After Lord Westbury's fall, in consequence of an adverse vote upon his lax official appointments, a reconciliation took place between these formidable antagonists.

When Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1862, there was much solicitude among all classes as to his successor. It was a cause of very general satisfaction when Dr. Longley was translated from the see of York to that of Canterbury. The appointment having been made, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Palmerston, strongly pressing the claims of Bishop Wilberforce to the archbishopric of York. England at large agreed with Mr. Gladstone in regarding the bishop as being pecu-

liarly fitted for the charge of the northern province, but ultimately his former curate, Dr. Thomson, received the appointment. Dr. Wilberforce was ready and willing to go to York, and there would have been a special fitness in the transfer. As the bishop wrote to Sir Charles Anderson, "There is no denying that I should have liked, if it had been God's will, to work amongst my father's people."

When the Rev. T. T. Carter issued his work on the Holy Communion, Bishop Wilberforce thus wrote to him, giving him most decisively his views on what was afterwards known as the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament: "It appears to me to be absolutely diverse from the tone of primitive Christianity and of our own Church. I remember no parallel, save in some of the most modern Romish devotions. Confraternities for living together for work or for the maintenance of a life of devotion and prayer, are quite another matter; but a confraternity bound together only—if really for anything—for the exaltation of the blessed sacrament, the common instrument of communion with Christ for all believers, seems to me either unmeaning or unwarrantable, and full of many dangers very likely to lead to superstition, to self-exaltation, and to an abuse of the blessed sacrament in those who join it, and almost certain to lead, by a reaction, amongst others, to a lowering of the true doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Eucharist; whilst it is quite sure to stir up a vast amount of prejudice from its singularly un-English and popish tone, which prejudice will address itself, not merely to attacking excess, but to pulling down truth.

. . . I entreat you to reconsider the matter for yourself, and, as bishop, I exhort you to use no attempts to spread this confraternity amongst the clergy and religious people of my diocese."

Describing his first interview with the Queen at Windsor after the death of the Prince Consort, the bishop wrote to a friend, "I am just home from the consecration of the mausoleum—one of the most touching scenes I ever saw, to see our Queen and the file of fatherless children walk in and kneel down in those solemn prayers. I had a half-hour's talk with her yesterday, and nothing could be more delightful, so gentle, so affectionate, so true, so real—no touch of morbidness—quite cheerful, and so kind. She spoke of the great sorrow of my life. . . . A sister could not have been more tender." As life is flecked with joys and sorrows, so the bishop describes an event of another character, in this account of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales: "The wedding was certainly the most moving sight I ever saw. The Queen above, looking down, added such a wonderful chord of deep feeling to all the lighter notes of joyfulness and show. Every one behaved quite at their best. The Princess of Wales calm, feeling, self-possessed. The Prince with more depth of manner than ever before. Princess Mary's entrance was grand. The little Prince William of Prussia, between his two little uncles to keep him quiet, both of whom he—the Crown Princess told me—bit on the bare Highland legs whenever they touched him to keep him quiet. I had a nice long talk with the Queen. I was charmed with the

Prince of Prussia, and the warmth of his expressions as to his wife. 'Bishop,' he said, 'with me it has been one long honeymoon.'"

The proposed reconstitution of the Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Cases was discussed with much detail in 1862, and for several subsequent years. The matter was not satisfactorily settled during the lifetime of Bishop Wilberforce, but he secured one change which he ardently desired, in the constitution of the court, namely, the separation of the clerical from the legal judges. This was effected in the Judicature Act of 1873, when the bishop was instrumental in carrying a clause which removed the archbishops and the Bishop of London from the Judicial Committee. They were, however, restored to the committee in 1875, but only as assessors, not as judges. During the "Colenso controversy," the bishop took a firm stand on behalf of the doctrines of the Church. He urged the bishops to collective action, but at the same time conducted the dispute in a spirit of fairness and urbanity. When the Ritualistic difficulties began in 1866, the bishop agreed with Mr. Gladstone, "that there should be no restraining or narrowing legislation, unless it was to avert some proximate, weighty, and far-spreading evil." Writing to the Rev. W. Butler, one of his rural deans, the bishop remarked that in some dioceses practices had been introduced which were objectionable both in number and in kind; but he could not doubt that where they were in excess the kindly, fair, and patient use of existing authority would suffice to reduce them to their proper limits.

In his triennial Charge he said that "legislation would be premature, and therefore dangerous. To be safe, it should embody and ratify, but not precede, the Church's general conclusions." But he besought the introducers of excessive ritual to make "some sacrifice for peace, under the fatherly counsel of those set over them in the Lord." His earnest counsel was that, in every instance, they should lay their whole case before their bishop, and act absolutely on his discretion. In saying this he did not condemn a moderate ceremonial. When the Ritual Commission assembled, the bishop successfully guided its deliberations, and drew up its first report, in which coercive measures were emphatically discountenanced, while Ritualism was condemned. Bishop Wilberforce took the chief part in convoking the important Pan-Anglican Conference of 1867, when seventy-eight bishops assembled at Lambeth for mutual advice and deliberation. He drew up the encyclical in which the Colenso case was reviewed at length; and his action in this and many other matters affecting the Colonial Church brought him into intimate relations with the Colonial clergy, who repeatedly wrote to him for counsel in difficult questions.

The Ritual Commissioners issued their second report in May, 1868. There had been hot discussions at the meetings, and when the report was at last agreed to, six of the twenty-nine Commissioners did not sign at all, while four, including Bishop Wilberforce, signed with qualifications. The report recommended legislation on the subject of incense and candles, and it was mainly against

this proposal that the bishop protested. After calmly weighing all the arguments advanced, he adhered to his original opinion, that "offence, whether caused by excess or defect in divine service, may be removed by strengthening the hands of the bishop, with appeal to the archbishop." He was convinced that no law could regulate gesture and posture, which "were much better left to the good sense and good feeling of each parish."

An entry in the bishop's diary for April, 1868, furnishes Mr. Reginald Wilberforce with an opportunity of giving two amusing and authentic anecdotes, illustrative of his father's love of natural history. "The bishop's love of natural objects," he observes, "and especially his great knowledge of birds, was well understood by the country-people about Cuddesdon. On one occasion, as he was returning home on horseback, a boy jumped through a newly made hedge, and the bishop rated him somewhat sharply for damaging the farmer's property, and desired him to come up to the palace for another word of reproof in the evening. The boy was for a moment cowed and silent; but then, pulling his hair, said in a low voice, 'Please your lordship, I've got a wonderful rare bird at home, that I meant to bring to your lordship.' The bishop asked what the bird was, and was told that it was a sort of kingfisher. Further inquiry convinced the bishop that it really belonged to a species rarely met with in Oxfordshire. The boy had carried the day. The bishop had slipped half a crown into his hand, and told him to bring the bird to the palace as soon as he got home.

"On one occasion I wanted to see the bishop, and went up to Cuddesdon for the purpose. He had come home late the night before, and, although it was early, was beset by visitors. I had to wait some time, and on going into the library I found the bishop surrounded by papers, and absorbed with work, but yet ready for the moment to give full attention to me, as he had done to many others in succession. On seeing me he pointed at once to the window, saying, 'Do you see what I have got there?' On looking, I saw a stick stuck upright in the lawn, with a piece of beef fat fastened to the end of it. He added, 'I want to see how many species of titmice come to this garden. I have already seen the ox-eye, the blue-tit, and the cole-titmouse.' Not only had he thought of this amid his other occupations, but on the instant of my entrance he connected my love of ornithology with it, and probably gained time by the remark to finish hastily some letter before him."

The most painful of all the bishop's family griefs was that which fell upon him in August, 1868, by the secession of his daughter and her husband, the Rev. H. J. Pye, to Rome. "For years," he wrote in his diary, "I have prayed incessantly against this last act, and now it seems denied me. It seems as if my heart would break at this insult out of my own bosom to God's truth in England's Church, and preference for the vile harlotry of the papacy. God forgive them. I have struggled on my knees against feelings of wrath against him in a long, long weeping cry to God. May He judge between this wrong-doer and me!" There was

ever afterwards a settled pain gnawing at the bishop's heart, with night hauntings and unrest, over this bitter trial. But he again sought and found a partial relief in work and in religious activities innumerable.

Archbishop Longley died in 1868, and there was an expectation in many quarters that Bishop Wilberforce would be called upon to succeed him in the see of Canterbury. But Mr. Disraeli was strongly opposed to Bishop Wilberforce from political motives, and the Queen favoured Dr. Tait. The latter consequently became archbishop, and Dr. Jackson was transferred from Lincoln to London. Such men as Dr. Hook held that the archbishopric ought to have been offered to Dr. Wilberforce, but the Dean of Windsor stated that all through the negotiations, Mr. Disraeli was most hostile to him, and that he alone prevented the see of London from being offered to him. The bishop himself wrote to Sir Charles Anderson, "Tait was quite heartily warm about my succeeding him. I am afraid my dear children and friends will be disappointed. For myself, I really thank God; it very little disturbs me. I in my reason apprehend that by the common rule in such matters I had no right to be so treated; but I am really thankful in feeling so cool about it." That he had a happy power of throwing such things off is shown by an anecdote related of him at this time. He had received the freedom of the Salters' Company—a distinction envied in the City. On one occasion Lady Burdett-Coutts happened to be driving the bishop into the City, and the conversa-

tion turned on the origin of the various City companies. "I dare say, bishop," she said, "you do not know the meaning of a 'drysalter'?" "Oh yes," was the reply—with a play upon the word *salter*—"I do. Tate and Brady."

When Mr. Gladstone first brought forward, in 1868, his proposals for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the bishop strenuously opposed them both in and out of Parliament; but after the general election he acquiesced in the measure, not because he thought the change was likely to be beneficial, but because he regarded it as settled by the overwhelming vote of the constituencies. He was convinced that it was not to the best interests and the peace of the Church or the State to go on fighting a hopeless battle to the bitter end; and with statesmanlike prudence he recommended Archbishop Trench and his colleagues on the Irish bench to seek the best possible terms in the inevitable crisis which had come upon them. His course was blamed by many; yet it was that taken by the Duke of Wellington in 1824 with regard to Catholic Emancipation, that of Sir Robert Peel in 1846 on the corn laws, and that of the Conservative party in 1867 on the Reform question.

In September, 1869, Bishop Sumner, taking advantage of the Bishops' Resignation Bill, retired from the see of Winchester. Public opinion marked out Bishop Wilberforce as his successor, and Mr. Gladstone, observing that the "time had come for him to seal the general verdict," made him an offer of the see. Indeed, the premier took

the unusual course of first asking the bishop whether he might name him to the Queen. Mr. Wilberforce observes that "Mr. Gladstone was aware it was no promotion he had to offer, and he was also aware of the disadvantageous temporal conditions which were attached to the see of Winchester, as the income the bishop would receive from the diocese was, on account of Bishop Sumner's pension, smaller than that which he received as Bishop of Oxford. The claims upon it were greater. The work was harder; there was a diocese to organize afresh, and all the cares and troubles of South London;—this was all Bishop Wilberforce gained by the translation from Oxford to Winchester. Doubtless it was the conviction that there was much to be done in this new sphere, coupled with an almost romantic attachment to the scene of his early labours as parish priest and archdeacon, that decided the bishop, after twenty-four years' work, to leave the Oxford diocese, which his skill and energy had welded together out of the most discordant materials."

In accepting the bishopric of Winchester, Dr. Wilberforce very generously surrendered the Lord High-Almonership—an appointment in the royal household which conferred on the holder all the privileges of a member of the household, and one which he had held for twenty-two years. Dean Wellesley, chaplain to the Queen, received the appointment, and he wrote to the bishop, "From few could have been expected so great and disinterested an act of friendship as you have shown to me. I shall always feel most grateful to you."

It was a surrender of no mean value, first, from its connection with the Queen; and, secondly, from its large opportunities of charity. As Prelate of the Order of the Garter, however, the bishop retained some of his old privileges at Windsor, including the personal advantages of the *entrée*, and the right of passing through the park.

It was a great wrench to the bishop to leave his old diocese, and letters and addresses of affection poured in upon him from the clergy and laity with whom he had for so long been a fellow-worker. In his triennial and farewell Charge the bishop reviewed his episcopate of nearly a quarter of a century in the diocese of Oxford. A sketch was given of the various organizations which he had set on foot, and from statistics supplied he was able to state that the amount of money which had been raised in this purely agricultural diocese, for building, restoring, and endowing churches, schools, and houses of mercy since 1845, reached a total of £2,150,552. As an example of the bishop's personal energy, it may be mentioned that during the last three years of his Oxford episcopacy he preached 226 times in the parish churches, while the numbers confirmed in his last three years were 20,028, as compared with 14,059 in the three years ending with 1854. In a valedictory address presented to the bishop by the clergy of the diocese—assembled in the hall of All Souls' College, Oxford—the subscribers said, "We with sorrow bid your lordship farewell. We are conscious that your able government has earned for this diocese a reputation recognized not only in our own

province, but in England generally and throughout our gracious sovereign's dominions, and a name held in estimation in the Church of the United States of America. May God grant to you to find in your new weighty sphere of duty the same hearty co-operation of the clergy and of the laity which your affectionate, considerate, and judicious course among us has justly won!" Mr. Gladstone, who had read the full address of the clergy with emotion, wrote to the bishop, "You have not known me as a flatterer, and so I the more freely say it makes the heart bound to feel that, even in this poor world, truth and justice sometimes claim their own, and, thank God, it has not been in the power of jealousy, or cowardice, or any other evil creature, to detract one jot from the glory of that truly great episcopate, the records of which you have written alike in the visible, outward history of the Church and in the fleshy tablets of the heart of men."

The bishop was enthroned in Winchester Cathedral on the 16th of December, 1869, and he at once began to enter upon his new episcopal duties with all the old energy and devotion. Early in the session of 1870 Bishop Wilberforce introduced into the House of Lords his Clergy Resignation Bill—a measure for enabling clergymen to resign their livings when incapacitated by age or infirmity from performing their duties. He sent the draft of the bill to Lord Westbury for revision, and his lordship promised it his cordial support. In doing so, however, he gave one more example of his bitter and caustic wit. "He

perceived the bishop referred to 'diseases of the mind.' This, he said, was a difficulty, because, in the first place, there could be no such thing as disease of the mind, and secondly, if there were, he had never yet met a clergyman, 'with the exception of your lordship, who had a mind.'" The bishop's very useful bill became law in 1871.

In the midst of unusually heavy diocesan work, the bishop was very active in Parliament and in Convocation, and in February, 1870, he carried in the latter body a resolution for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament. The result was that a Revision Committee was appointed, whose labours came to an end in 1882. But in supporting revision, the bishop made wholesome reservations both with regard to the letter and spirit of the book. "I should strongly oppose," he said, "the striking out of archaisms or anything which gave to the ordinary reader the ring of familiarity and ancient reverence for that beautiful book—the most beautiful and inestimable book which we have received from our fathers."

During the closing year of his life the Bishop of Winchester made three distinct and unmistakable utterances on the subject of private confession in the Church of England, which also drew forth a united episcopal declaration. The bishop's attitude was identical with that which he took in 1850, in his correspondence with Dr. Pusey. Put very briefly, his views were thus expressed: "What the Church of England allows, I am bound to allow; what she discourages, I discourage;

what she condemns, I condemn. She distinctly condemns the system" of confession as it existed among us just "before the Reformation. . . . Here is the very pith of the teaching of the Church of England as to confession : It is not necessary for the forgiveness of sins or the maintenance of the life of God in the soul ; it may not be enforced in any, but it may be used by those who desire it to ease the conscience of doubt and trouble." By a strange coincidence, the bishop's last sermon was delivered at Clapham, the place of his birth. This was on Sunday, July 13, 1873 ; but two days later he spoke in the House of Lords, when he repelled a personal attack made upon him by Lord Oranmore and Browne. At the request of the churchwardens of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the bishop had refused to allow the Rev. Robert Maguire to deliver a series of ultra-Protestant lectures in the church. Lord Oranmore, upon this, attacked the bishop in the House of Lords, and accused him of being a sympathizer with the Roman Catholic religion, because, in the interests of peace, he had restrained the lecturer. Bishop Wilberforce, on this his last appearance in the House of Lords, emphatically repudiated the charge—a charge which had often been secretly insinuated. "I have to complain," he said, "of the noble lord for saying it was some tendency to these Roman doctrines that led me to act as I did. That is a most serious charge, as serious an imputation as to charge an officer in the army with disloyalty to his Queen. I hate and abhor the attempt to Romanize the Church of England, and I will never hear any

one make such a charge without telling him to his face that he is guilty of gross misrepresentation."

On the 19th of July Sir Robert Phillimore visited the bishop at Winchester House, in order to discuss with him the ecclesiastical aspects of the Judicature Bill, when he was forcibly struck by his extreme dejection of spirits. It appears that the bishop had been much depressed the day before, when he took leave of his son and daughter-in-law with unusual tenderness, and even with tears. In the afternoon of the 19th the bishop went with Lord Granville by train to Leatherhead. They then proceeded to Burford Bridge, and went for a ride over the hills near Dorking, the bishop being mounted on a hack hunter named Carrick Beg, which Bernal Osborne had bought for Lord Granville in Ireland. He thoroughly enjoyed the ride, and was in the highest spirits. The two horsemen broke into a gentle canter over a smooth stretch of turf, the earl riding on the bishop's left, slightly in advance. The earl heard a thud upon the ground, and, turning round, he saw the bishop lying motionless. The horse had stumbled by putting his foot in a gutter of the turf. Assistance was procured as speedily as possible, but the bishop was already dead, having expired instantaneously.

His biographer states that death came to Bishop Wilberforce as he would have wished it to come. He had no fear or shrinking from sudden death, but, on the contrary, dreaded a long illness or gradual decay. Long before, when he had been in a railway accident, he calmly waited for the end

which was not then to be, and after this he had often said to his friend, the Bishop of Rochester, "I may be gone in a moment." The Bishop of Ely (Dr. Woodford) said of him, "Never, I firmly believe, did any man live more continuously in the thought of the eternal world." Only a few days before the fatal accident on the Surrey hills, Bishop Wilberforce said to a friend, "There is no such thing as sudden death to a Christian." When Thomas Carlyle heard of the bishop's death, he said, knowing his friend well, "What a glad surprise!"

These touching details of what took place after the accident are given by Mr. Wilberforce: "The bishop's body was taken to Mr. Farrer's house, Abinger Hall, where, having been vested in the robes of office, it lay on the drawing-room floor till Monday. Telegrams were at once despatched to the three sons. Basil, the youngest, was first to arrive, from Southampton; and the writer arrived on Sunday evening. The second son, Ernest, landed in England on Thursday night, having travelled day and night after receiving the intelligence of his loss. The inquest, which was of a purely formal nature, was held on Monday. But before it took place, many friends who had already received the intelligence had hastened to Abinger to see the last of the bishop whom they so loved. Among those who came that Monday morning were Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, and well the writer of these lines remembers the scene in that room—the peaceful body of the bishop, the lines of care and trouble smoothed out of the face,

the beautiful smile of 'satisfaction ;' and kneeling reverentially by that body, Mr. Gladstone, whose sobs attested how deeply his feelings were moved by the sudden loss of his long-tried friend ; while at some little distance Lord Granville knelt, moved also to tears by this affecting scene."

The bishop's body was conveyed by easy stages from Abinger to Lavington. The church bells were tolled in each village through which the hearse passed, and at Chiddingfold, on the border of Surrey and Sussex, a long halt was made. A stone in the churchyard wall now bears this inscription : "Near this spot at eventide on Monday, July 21, 1873, rested the body of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, on its last journey home to Lavington. By a fall from his horse he was called suddenly from unwearied labour to eternal rest. 'Be ye therefore ready also.' " The body reached Lavington at night, and on the 25th it was laid to rest in Lavington churchyard. The bishop had always desired to be laid by his wife ; and at Cuddesdon, at Lavington, and in London there hung in his bedroom a picture of Lavington churchyard, in order that he might ever have before him his own resting-place. A cross was raised over his grave, bearing the same simple inscription as that on the coffin, "Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, 28 years a bishop in the Church of God, died July 19, 1873, aged 67 years."

Personal tributes to the deceased prelate were paid by the Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lords Cairns and Carnarvon, the

Bishop of London, and last but not least, and perhaps the most eloquent of all, by Mr. Gladstone, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Wilberforce Memorial Fund at Willis's Rooms. The press, too, from the *Times* downwards, bore wide testimony to the irreparable loss which had been sustained by the Church and by England at large.

Bishop Wilberforce was a man of strong character, and his judgments of his fellow-men were sometimes severe, but this was always in connection with men whom he deemed to be frivolous or selfish, or who were hostile to the interests of religion. In private life he was a delightful companion, and one of the most witty and versatile of conversationalists. But the best and greatest side of his nature lay in the fact that he was an indefatigable Christian worker. Men were drawn to him by an irresistible personal magnetism—the magnetism of a devoted and self-sacrificing life, which was ever swayed by that noblest of all ambitions, the desire to elevate and save a fallen humanity.

VII.

GEORGE MOORE, THE
PHILANTHROPIST,

VII.

GEORGE MOORE, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

AMONG laymen who have rendered faithful and devoted service to the cause of religion and humanity, the name of George Moore deservedly occupies a conspicuous place. While his life bore ample testimony to the truth of the proverb that "The hand of the diligent maketh rich," it bore equal witness to his large-heartedness and liberality, which caused him to dispense that wealth in philanthropic enterprises, in the alleviation of human suffering, and in the spread of moral, intellectual, and spiritual enlightenment amongst the masses. He was a self-made man, of strong and upright character, and when he became one of the merchant princes of England he preserved the same simple and unassuming demeanour which had distinguished his early years. The unspoken question always before him was whether his motives were right and his conduct true, and then he pursued his course with unswerving fidelity.

George Moore was a native of Cumberland. He was born at Mealsgate, in that county, on the 9th of April, 1806. His father, as well as a long line

of ancestors before him, belonged to the rank of yeomen, or "statesmen," as they called themselves with justifiable pride. "The modern Cumberland statesmen," says Dr. Smiles, in his biography of Moore, "are the northern yeomen of England, They are men who work hard, live frugally, and enjoy an honest independence. They are neither squires nor labourers. They stand betwixt both. They till their own soil, and consume their own produce. They sell the cattle and corn which they do not require, to buy the household articles which they cannot produce. They used to weave their own cloth. In olden times the 'grey coats of Cumberland' was a common phrase. But all this has passed away ; and statesmen are now sinking into the class of ordinary farmers, or even labourers." Their characteristics as a race were sturdiness, independence, and hospitality, while their existence was primitive and devoid of luxury. Sir James Graham spoke of the cavalcade of mounted statesmen who accompanied Mr. Blamire into Carlisle, on his appointment as high sheriff, in 1828, as "a body of men who could not be matched in any other part of the kingdom." But since then a period of decadence has set in, and this old and honourable body of men is rapidly disappearing.

But many of the qualities of these sturdy statesmen were inherited by George Moore, and they stood him in good stead in the battle of life. He had for godfather his kinsman, George Moore of Bothel, who left him, in dying, a legacy of £100, together with a big hair trunk. The £100 became a useful £170 by the time the recipient was twenty-

one. As for the trunk, it was the companion of his travels through life, journeying with him to America and elsewhere, and it is still at Mealsgate, after a serviceable career of upwards of a hundred and fifty-years. When young Moore was only six years old he lost his mother, and the startling impression made upon him when he saw her lying dead gave him a morbid and an ineradicable horror of death. At the age of eight George was sent to Boltongate—about two miles from Mealsgate—to school, but the education was of a miserable description, and it was imparted by a cruel schoolmaster addicted to drink. Proficiency in wrestling is a well-known acquirement in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Moore early acquired celebrity for his prowess in this direction. He delighted in all out-door sports, and would follow on horseback, and without saddle, the famous John Peel and his hounds. But while George Moore was fond of fun, frolic, wrestling, bird's-nesting, and hunting, we are told that he was a general favourite, because he was such a helpsome boy. He would think nothing, for example, of getting up early in the morning, and walking nine or ten miles over the fells to Over Water, to get a basket of fish for the family. A passage from his autobiography will best show his voluntary apprenticeship to work in his youth, as well as the spirit of determination which animated him. "I was much delighted," he says, "when the harvest holidays came. As my brother did not pay me any wages, and as I only had my meat and clothes, I hired myself out, when the home fields were cut, to the

neighbouring farmers; and I was thus enabled to get some pocket-money which I could call my own. I started at sixpence a day, and by the time that I was ten years old I got eighteenpence a day. When I reached the age of twelve, being a very strong boy, I 'carried my rig' with the men. I sheared with the sickle and kept time and pacc with the full-grown shearers. For this I earned two shillings a day, with my food. This was considered unequalled for a boy of my age to accomplish."

When the youth reached the age of twelve his father sent him to a finishing school at Blennerhasset. The cost was eight shillings a quarter, and he only remained one term. Even at this youthful stage he was firmly resolved upon leaving home. He had no tastes in common with his brother, and had far too much ambition to lead an idle life for a portion of his time, or to remain content with the position of a farm-servant. Encouraged by his stepmother, he determined to bind himself apprentice to one Messenger, a draper at Wigton. In leaving Mealsgate he had to part with a dearly beloved companion, his donkey, which he sold "for sixteen shillings, though he had to wait long for the money." When everything had been arranged, and the great historic hair trunk had been packed, George rode out to Wigton on horseback, his stepmother clinging to him on the pack-saddle behind.

In his new sphere young Moore became a favourite with the customers, but, unfortunately, he had mostly to lodge in a public-house, where he saw

nothing but wickedness and drinking, and where he imbibed a passion for gambling which might have been his ruin. He was saved by an incident which he has himself narrated. One Christmas Eve, after he had passed the night card-playing, he returned to his master's house, in which he was now staying, and found the door closed against him. By clambering over a number of the lower houses he managed to reach the top of his master's dwelling, and to get into his room by the window, having run the risk of breaking his neck. "In the morning," he says, "the waits came round playing the Christmas carols. Strangely better thoughts came over me with the sweet music. I awoke to the sense of my wrong-doing. I felt overwhelmed with remorse and penitence. I thought of my dear father, and feared that I might break his heart, and bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. I lay in bed, almost without moving, for twenty-four hours. No one came near me. I was without food or drink. I thought of what I should do when I got up. If my master turned me off, I would go straightway to America. I resolved, in any case, to give up card-playing and gambling, which, by God's grace, I am thankful to say, I have firmly carried out." By an altered life he proved to all the neighbourhood the sincerity of his repentance; and in after-years, when he employed hundreds of young men, the memory of his own painful experiences at Wigton made him lenient to others, and always ready to give them another chance when they fell.

Industrious and successful in business, George

Moore could now claim to be ; but the time having come when there was nothing more to be done at Wigton, he determined to go to London. His father went over to take a final leave of him, and he handed him £30 to pay his expenses. The parting was so touching, and father and son were so overcome, that an old friend, Nanny Graves, exclaimed to John Moore, "What gars ye greet that way? Depend on't yer son 'll either be a great nowt (nothing) or a great soomat!" The old woman had rightly read George's character, and he fulfilled her prophecy. On the day before Good Friday, 1825, the young traveller looked upon the great world of London from Highgate Hill, as Dick Whittington had done so many years before. The modern adventurer found the struggle to obtain work in the metropolis very hard. His appearance and north-country manners were against him. He travelled nearly all over London, sometimes entering as many as thirty drapers' shops in a day, but always with the same disheartening result. At length, driven to despair, he made up his mind to take his passage to America, when an opening was made for him by a Cumberland man in an almost providential manner. His generosity and integrity of character were always undoubted, yet, owing to a mistake made in her account by a lady customer—which was afterwards clearly demonstrated—he had a narrow escape from Newgate. It was a most serious matter, for stealing, forging, and shop-lifting were then punishable with death.

After some experience in retail houses, Moore

became a commercial traveller. He set to work to remedy his defects, and to acquire the all-important business virtues of accuracy, quickness, and promptitude. Discovering, likewise, his lamentable deficiency in education, he went to a night-school, and sat up studying his lessons until the small hours of the morning. Love for Eliza Ray, the daughter of the Cumberland gentleman who had given him a helping hand, acted as a great stimulus to his exertions both in education and in business. In June, 1827, he made an adventurous visit to the House of Commons. Such a thing would be quite impossible now as he relates it. Unnoticed by the doorkeepers, he walked with some of the members into the middle of the House. When he got in he almost fainted with fear lest he should be discovered. Proceeding to the back benches, he remained there all the evening, and heard Mr. Canning bring forward his motion to reduce the duty on corn. Had he been discovered, he would unquestionably have been hauled up for breach of privilege.

Moore's extraordinary success as a traveller surprised his employers. They had never had his equal before for quickness, shrewdness, and integrity; and his honourable dealings and keen insight into character were proverbial. He became known as "the Napoleon of Watling Street." After a time, he had only one rival in business, an active traveller named Groucock, partner in a firm recently established. The competition between them was so great that at last Groucock offered Moore a partnership; and in June, 1830,

he entered the firm of Groucock and Copestake, lace manufacturers, which was long afterwards known as Groucock, Copestake, and Moore; and subsequently as Copestake, Moore, Crampton, and Co., of Bow Churchyard. Besides his business expeditions through Great Britain and Ireland, in which he was indefatigable, working for sixteen and eighteen hours a day and taking little recreation, Moore travelled through most of the towns of Belgium and France, to buy lace and to open out operations for the future. He never took a day's holiday for thirteen years, and his partners showed almost equal devotion to business. The consequence was that the operations of the firm increased year by year at an amazing rate. At length Moore's prosperity was such that he was emboldened to ask for the hand of his first love, Eliza Flint Ray. He was refused, but his affection for her was so deep that he would not despair, and on the 12th of August, 1840, he led her to the altar, having, as he expressed it, "served for her with an aching heart longer than Jacob served for Rachel."

Having acquired the "City disease" of nervous restlessness through his intense application to business, Moore paid a visit to the United States. He inspected the prisons and asylums, and was deeply moved at the working of the terrible solitary system in the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia. At the Blind Asylum he saw the system of reading by raised letters beautifully carried out. He visited nearly all the majestic scenery in the various States, and in Canada, as well as the

places of historical interest. This was in 1844, but even then he was so impressed by all he saw, that he predicted America must rise and become a great country. On returning to England he resumed the sport of fox-hunting, which Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Lawrence recommended for his health. He enjoyed many famous runs in the home counties, with Lord Southampton's, Baron Rothschild's, and other packs of hounds. But he afterwards confessed that if he could have kept his health without resorting to hunting, he would rather have done so. He exercised a good moral influence over Lord Lonsdale's Hunt, however, and even while following the hounds his philanthropic instincts could not be suppressed. He was instrumental in raising a large subscription for the Herts and Beds Infirmary, and another for the agricultural societies of all the districts through which he hunted. Change of occupation being necessary, he found other safety-valves in his labours in connection with the Merchants' and Travellers' Insurance Association, and the Cumberland Benevolent Society. Then came the establishment of the Commercial Travellers' Schools, a charity for the maintenance and education of the children of commercial travellers. Moore took a prominent part in founding this institution, which had its first election of children in 1847, and has prospered greatly since. Handsome new buildings were erected at Pinner, in 1853. George Moore was unremitting in his exertions as treasurer, and on two occasions he secured the services of Charles Dickens as chairman at the anniversary

dinner. On other occasions he succeeded in getting as chairmen the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Lytton, W. M. Thackeray, and successive Lord Mayors of London. The Prince Consort opened the new schools on the 27th of October, 1855. Dickens not only eulogized the management of the schools, but Mr. Forster, in his "Life" of the novelist, says that "his admiration of the schools introduced him to one who acted as their treasurer, and whom, of all the men he had known, I think he rated highest—for the union of business qualities in an incomparable measure to a nature comprehensive enough to deal with masses of men, however differing in creed or opinion, humanely and justly. Mr. Dickens never afterwards wanted support for any good work that he did not first think of Mr. George Moore; and his appeals were never made to him in vain."

Moore's advice to the boys in the school was always excellent. On one occasion, when exhorting them to persevere, and not be discouraged in their struggles, he told the story of his own arrival in London, a poor lad, without a friend in the world, and when people's hearts did not seem to be so large to him as afterwards. After beating about London for an entire week, he began to think himself a not very marketable commodity in the great city. But he persevered, and conquered all difficulties. Lamenting on another occasion his lack of knowledge of arithmetic, he remarked, "Book-keeping is the very key of your position. The records of the Bankruptcy Court show how many colossal fortunes are wrecked, how many grow-

ing prospects are blasted, through ignorance of this vital part of commercial knowledge." He "urged the boys to observe the strictest integrity in all their dealings; to think not merely of their earthly master, but of the Divine Being from whom nothing could be concealed. He also urged them to recollect that in any moment of temptation, not merely their own character, but the reputation of the institution that had done so much for them, was at stake." Again, he assured them that perseverance and punctuality would bring success and reward, even though great abilities were wanting. "Don't depend upon your relatives and friends," he added. "There is nothing like individual responsibility. If you have self-respect, and trust to your own resources, by God's strength you will succeed. 'God helps those who help themselves.'" Such wise counsel and advice were not without effect, and in twenty years only one child educated in the schools turned out badly. Not the least part of George Moore's work for humanity was that which he achieved in connection with the Commercial Travellers' Schools.

In his prosperity George Moore never forgot the Cumberland folk. Indeed, it was his great delight to take distinguished visitors from London down to his native district. He did much to improve education in Cumberland, both in starting libraries and supporting mechanics' institutes. He was also earnestly moved with regard to the spiritual condition of the people; and having contracted an intimate friendship with the Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Villiers), the bishop and his lay friend

greatly improved the preaching of the district. Mr. Moore assisted in the building and enlargement of schools, and instituted a system of competitive examination. The work having made a good start, it was taken up and continued by the Diocesan Education Society. Quite a new educational life was set in motion throughout Cumberland as the result of his efforts. He likewise raised the tone and character of the schoolmasters, besides adding liberally to the scanty livings of churches which needed help.

Business in the meantime grew apace, and occupied a large share of his attention. Chiefly owing to his exertions, branches were established in Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Bristol, Birmingham, Plymouth, Nottingham, Brighton, Norwich, and Portsea. Warehouses had already been opened some years before this in Glasgow, Dublin, Paris, and New York. In June, 1852, Mr. Moore was nominated by the Lord Mayor as Sheriff of London. There were many City men who would have been glad of this distinction, but George Moore was "so much occupied with the benevolent institutions which he had started, as well as with his own business, that he could not indulge in the luxury of holding the office of sheriff. It would have involved him in many civic dinners. It might have led to a knighthood. It might have led to the office of Lord Mayor." Against his will, however, he was elected, and, declining to serve, he was mulcted in the sum of £415 13s. 4d., of which £400 was paid as fines, and the balance went to the sword-bearer and the

common crier. He was further unanimously elected alderman by the liverymen of Cordwainers' Ward, and a second time by those of Bread Street Ward, but he refused to serve in both cases, on the same grounds on which he had declined to become sheriff. At one time, it would have been the height of his ambition to be Sheriff of London or Lord Mayor, but he had now neither the ambition nor the inclination to serve in either office. On several occasions he was invited to become a parliamentary candidate, and he could have been returned without opposition, but he invariably refused. The only thing which he accepted was the deputy-lieutenancy for London and Middlesex, offered him by Lord Palmerston. This honour interfered neither with his business nor his philanthropic undertakings. Although Mr. Moore, who was a moderate Liberal, was by no means an ardent politician, he was a steadfast friend of free trade, and when the corn laws were repealed, his firm were amongst the largest subscribers to the Cobden Fund, contributing £500.

But he took a deep interest in the parliamentary candidature of others, especially in the contests in the city of London and the county of Cumberland, and it was chiefly owing to his untiring zeal that Lord John Russell retained his seat for London in the exciting struggle of 1857.

While declining civic honours, George Moore did nobler work for the metropolis. He visited every prison in London, beginning with the City prison at Holloway. He examined everything with the keenest interest, and his practical view of

things led him to suggest the establishment of a reformatory for discharged prisoners. Perceiving that the poor prisoners, after their release from gaol, could only return to stealing, as nobody would employ them, he established, with the aid of his friend, James Cunliffe the banker, the Grove House Reformatory for Young Men, at Brixton Hill. The founders were greatly encouraged by Lord Shaftesbury, whom George Moore described as "the most zealous and persevering philanthropist of the day. He is always ready for every good work, and I never knew any man who could get through so much. He never tires of doing good. He has extraordinary tact and ability as a chairman; and he has, perhaps, had more experience in that position than any living man. His kind and courteous manner, his large-heartedness, and his zeal in every good movement, will give him an imperishable renown, and an everlasting inheritance with his heavenly Master." For some years the reformatory did excellent work, but it was eventually wrecked by the bad management of its head officer, and, much to George Moore's regret, had to be given up. Another strange but benevolent work to which Moore devoted himself was the marrying of people who were not, but who ought to have been, married. With the aid of the City missionaries, multitudes of men and women were rescued from a degraded social position, and united in the bonds of Christian matrimony. The clergymen who performed the ceremony never knew the name of the donor of the marriage fees, and the people who married never knew their

benefactor, the good work being done with the strictest secrecy.

In conjunction with Mr. Robert Hanbury, M.P., Mr. Moore established a refuge for fallen women. The task was very difficult at that time, for respectable women shrank from stepping down to rescue their sisters from degradation. At one of the early meetings of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, Mr. Moore offered to give £100 annually for the first two female missionaries who would labour amongst the fallen. With God's help, he was determined to persevere in this necessary work. Next he assisted in establishing the Royal Hospital for Incurables. "I visited the hospitals," he observes, "and found that many patients were turned out as incurable—hospitals being for the cure of diseases, and not for the accommodation of those who could not be cured. These destitute creatures had no prospect before them but starvation or the workhouse. To persons brought up in respectability, this was almost equal to death. I was glad to join with James Peek in assisting Dr. Reed in his project for founding a hospital for incurables. I was made a trustee of the institution. As the candidates for election were all visited by the committee, I had the opportunity of seeing many cases of woeful misery; men and women who had been well brought up, prostrated and broken down by incurable diseases; in many cases starving from want of the common necessities of life; strangers to everything like comfort or luxury; and with no prospect before them but protracted dying and the grave. My dear friend,

Charles Dickens, has given a vivid account of these poor neglected suffering creatures ; and he has called all benevolent spirits to assist in establishing a home for the help of the incurables." Dr. Reed founded first the Asylum for Idiots, and then, after a few years, the Royal Hospital for Incurables followed. The first institution was at Carshalton, and the second at Putney House, Upper Richmond Road. Dr. Reed, who received active assistance from Mr. Peek and Mr. Moore, had the satisfaction of seeing, before his death, his various projects on the high-road to success.

George Moore supplemented the Commercial Travellers' Schools by the Warehousemen's and Clerks' Schools, which afforded relief and assistance to the necessitous, with education and maintenance for the orphan children ; and then he launched another admirable institution, the Porters' Benevolent Association. It was inaugurated by a great public meeting at the London Tavern, on the 16th of February, 1858, and twelve hundred porters were present. "A more gratifying scene," says the founder, "I never beheld. I made a speech to my mind, which I seldom do. I inaugurated and launched the institution to my own satisfaction, and to that of all present. I have a great regard for this class of men, and no one can know them better than I do, from my long experience of their value. We ought to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." It is but just to say that George Moore endeavoured always to carry out this injunction. He not only gave of his wealth liberally, but he had personal sympathy

with those he helped, and sought to enter into their experiences. As he said in one of his addresses, "If the world only knew half the happiness that a man has in doing good, it would do a great deal more. We are only here for a time, and ought to live as we would wish to die." Dr. Smiles justly remarks that Mr. Moore had discovered, "what many people never find out, that man's duty in the world is not merely to 'get on,' without regard for others, or to spend his money on mere selfish gratifications, but to help those who want help, to instruct those who want instruction, and to endeavour to lift them up into the higher light of civilization and Christianity. Every year he wrote the following words in his pocket-book; they became ingrained in his soul, and, to a certain extent, formed his creed :—

"What I spent, I had ;
 What I saved, I lost ;
 What I gave, I have."

During the period that he was deeply immersed in business, and indeed not until he was between forty and fifty years of age, did George Moore give much thought to spiritual matters. But a serious illness which overtook him in 1850 made him think deeply, and long for peace of mind. This feeling was intensified by the death of his partner, Mr. Groucock. In his religious struggles and conflicts he was much helped by the Rev. Daniel Moore and Mr. Bowker, of Christ's Hospital, and also by George Moggridge ("Old Humphrey"). Of Mr. Moggridge he says, "How I envied his mind and heart! Yet he lives on

only a scanty pittance. He called upon me once when I was in a desponding mood. How he comforted and supported me! He was one of the most lovable old men I ever knew. His mind was as pure as the snowdrop." Thousands of men and women lived to bless the name of "Old Humphrey" for his healthful Christian writings, and the example of his life.

George Moore passed through deep waters before he found rest in God; but at last it came, and then he began to think of others, and established a system of daily prayer among the persons employed by the firm. He engaged the Rev. Mr. Richardson, afterwards Vicar of St. Benet's-in-the-East, to conduct the services. He also instituted a Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, as well as a Sunday morning Bible-class. He further became "deeply impressed with the idea of raising the spiritual standard of his native county people in Cumberland." At his own expense he appointed a lay missionary for the village of Mealsgate, and fortunately discovered a man who had great power for good. Scripture-readers for the various market towns of the county were next appointed, as well as one for the Hesket Caldbeck mining district. He was cordially supported in these and other undertakings by the good Bishop of Carlisle.

Mr. Moore had just completed the purchase of the magnificent Whitehall Estate in Cumberland—which occupies the greater part of the parish of Allhallows—when, to his grief, the medical fiat went forth that his wife's days were numbered. She was a worthy helpmeet for such a man; and

it is recorded of her that "she took more pleasure in administering to the wants of the poor than in visiting the affluent and the wealthy." She was "long remembered in the neighbourhood by those who had experienced the blessings of her bounty." Not long before her death, and knowing the end to be near, Mrs. Moore settled all her worldly affairs with great calmness. She set apart remembrances for valued friends, and drew up a list of poor pensioners, who were to receive quarterly allowances so long as they lived. Then she dictated and signed twenty letters that were to be sent to her husband's intimate friends, with a copy of his portrait. Having made other farewell preparations, she passed quietly away, and was laid to rest in a private mausoleum in Allhallows' Church, there to await the coming of her husband. This was the greatest of George Moore's sorrows ; but, if such a thing were needed, it served to detach him still more from the world and worldly things. He erected a splendid monument to her memory, in the shape of a memorial fountain at Wigton. Mr. T. Woolner, R.A., was the sculptor, and Mr. James Knowles the architect. The general design was that of an obelisk, raised on a massive pedestal of polished granite. Four bas-reliefs, beautifully executed by the sculptor, had for their subjects—Feeding the hungry, Clothing the naked, Comforting the afflicted, and Instructing the ignorant. The donor likewise presented an organ to the parish church of Wigton. The Bishop of Carlisle preached the sermon at the opening ceremony. The organ bore this inscription : " In gratitude to

Almighty God, and in remembrance of early days, this organ is presented to the parish church of Wigton (the town where he served his apprenticeship), by George Moore, A.D. 1859."

In consequence of a return of his old malady of sleeplessness—a characteristic ailment of this busy and feverish age—a tour through Italy was prescribed for Mr. Moore. On his return to London he found that the Liberal electors of Nottingham had chosen him as their candidate, on the retirement of Mr. John Walter, who had consented to stand for Berkshire. Mr. Moore was greatly perplexed, and, after much anxious thought, he expressed his final determination in these honest and manly words: "I decline standing for Nottingham, though I am almost certain of being returned. My objections are: 1. That my education is not equal to the position; and I have a great dislike to public speaking. 2. That I can do much more good in other directions than by representing Nottingham in Parliament. 3. That it would keep me more and more from serving God and reading my Bible." So he advised the electors to choose Mr. Samuel Morley, who was ultimately returned.

Then, as his biographer observes, Mr. Moore resumed his labours of love. How arduous these labours were may be imagined from a mere recital of the institutions with which he was connected. He was at this time (1859) treasurer to the Cumberland Benevolent Society, treasurer to the Commercial Travellers' Schools, trustee to the Warehousemen's and Clerks' Schools, trustee to

the Cordwainers' and Bread Street Ward Schools, trustee to Nicholson's Charity, governor and almoner of Christ's Hospital, trustee to the Penny Bank in Milton Street, chairman and trustee of the Young Men's Christian Association in Marlborough Street, chairman of the General Committee of the Royal Free Hospital, trustee of the Metropolitan Commercial Travellers' and Warehousemen's Association, member of the Board of Management of the Royal Hospital for Incurables, trustee of St. Matthew's Church, St. George's-in-the-East; and trustee or chairman of various institutions in Cumberland. In consequence of conscientious objections to a proposed new site for the Royal Hospital for Incurables, Mr. Moore retired from that institution, together with Lord Raynham, Mr. James Peek, and others, and they began the erection of the British Home for Incurables at Clapham Rise. This institution was successfully completed, and became a valuable addition to the charities of the metropolis. The Royal Free Hospital in Gray's Inn Road had also a firm friend in Mr. Moore. Indeed, he saved it at a time of real peril, and himself collected subscriptions to purchase the freehold. He never ceased to feel the deepest interest in the hospital, and by his will he bequeathed it a legacy of £3000. His benevolent labours were continued month after month and year after year, the following being a sample entry from his diary: "Took the chair at the annual meeting of the Commercial Travellers' Schools; then to Guildhall to get £1000 from the Corporation for the British and Foreign Schools;

then to the Royal Hospital. A Bible meeting at night." Ragged Schools, the midnight meeting movement, working men's institutes, orphan charities, etc., all claimed a portion of his attention and support. His practical philanthropy further found a vent in providing or obtaining employment for young men coming to London in quest of situations. He kept a register of all their names, encouraged them, fed them, and never forgot them. The name was legion of those who were thus indebted to him.

In the year 1856 Dickens drew attention, in *Household Words*, to the terrible condition of the district known as London over the Border—that is, a district which was separated from London by the East India Docks and the River Lea. "The population," says Dr. Smiles, "consisted of an agglomeration of the refuse of London. They were the sediment or dregs of the great City. They had been pushed eastward by the vast mass of struggling life in London, across the River Lea, into the Essex marshes. The navvies and labourers went first, to excavate the docks and build the quay walls. Warehouses and manufactories followed, with a teeming mass of miserable people, willing to work at anything so that they could but earn a scanty pittance to live upon. They lived by the manufacture of vitriol, of patent manure, and of other foul-smelling productions, which the health-loving City had driven away by nuisance laws beyond the Lea to the untenanted Essex marshes." The cottages in which this unfortunate population lived were miserable, un-

healthy structures, and in wet weather the roads were impassable. Diseases arising from malarious exhalations were rife ; and there were no churches, chapels, schools, or institutes to improve the moral and physical condition of the people. In 1857 the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) appointed a clergyman, the Rev. H. Douglas, to take charge of the district. Mr. Douglas found a population wretched in the extreme, but he laboured amongst them with single-hearted devotion. At length in December, 1859, when the whole district was in the throes of privation and destitution, he sent a communication to the *Times*, entitled "Londoners over the Border," in which he described the universal distress, and made a fervent appeal to the charitable. The editor endorsed the appeal, and the public responded liberally and promptly. Mr. Douglas was enabled to do a vast amount of good, and by the end of 1860 he had received as much as £14,000. Then the recipient began to be a mark for envy and detraction, and in consequence of rumours which were widely circulated, Mr. Douglas appealed to the Bishop of London to institute an inquiry into his accounts, and to ascertain the actual disposal of the money entrusted to him by the public. The bishop requested Mr. George Moore to undertake the inquiry, but as the latter shrank from entering upon it single-handed, he chose Alderman Dakin for his colleague. The inquiry occupied a fortnight, Mr. Moore working about twelve hours a day. The strain was very great, and the public excitement intense. All the accounts, which had been kept entirely by Mr.

Douglas, were most carefully gone through, and a report was finally prepared and sent to the bishop. This report entirely acquitted Mr. Douglas of the misapplication or malversation of funds, and expressed its sense of his great energy, labour, and self-denial; but it also expressed regret that he had not associated with himself at the outset some well-known men of business to share his responsibility. "We would estimate character," said the report, in conclusion, "more by the amount and activity of its virtues, than by its freedom from defects. We have felt it right, in the impartial discharge of the anxious duty committed to us, to point out some defects of administration—which, indeed, Mr. Douglas has himself admitted to us—but we unhesitatingly affirm our belief in the purity of his motives and in the honesty of his conduct; and we trust he may be spared for many years to labour in a district where so much requires to be done, and for the accomplishment of which he seems to be peculiarly fitted."

After rendering this service, Mr. Moore returned to the work of his numerous benevolent undertakings, to which he now added meetings on behalf of poor worn-out milliners, dressmakers, and needlewomen. He likewise took up with great earnestness, in 1861, the cause of the National Orphan Home, on Ham Common. Its object was "to receive orphan girls, without distinction as to religion, into a home where they could obtain a plain English education and practical instruction in the kitchen, house, and laundry, so as to fit them for domestic service." He never relaxed his

efforts on behalf of this charity, and his last munificent act for the home was to head a subscription list with a thousand guineas, provided four thousand more could be secured, and these he obtained himself. But while engaged in these good works, we are told that he was often very lonely in his magnificent London mansion, after the death of Mrs. Moore. "I feel very desolate," he writes, in his diary, "and have no one to care for me but Christ." Again, "I retired to rest, depressed with my lonely condition. Here I have 'no continuing city.' Let me seek one that is to come. What matters about my lonely condition? It cannot be for many years, for life is fleeting." When insomnia again attacked him, he wrote, "The sound of cock-crow, heard in the early morning, serves to remind us of many profitable reflections, associated with the example of those who have gone before us, as well as with the duties that devolve upon ourselves."

He made his house the resort of men of all shades of religious opinion, and belonging to all Churches. On one occasion he entertained the Bishop of Carlisle; the Provost of Queen's, Professor Cope; the Rev. Dr. Wilkinson; the well-known Baptist divine, Dr. Brock; the equally well-known Congregationalist, the Rev. Samuel Martin, of Westminster, and many others. The same catholicity of feeling and sentiment entered into all his engagements and labours. Among the organizations which frequently held their meetings at his mansion in Palace Gardens were the Kensington Auxiliary Bible Society, the Pure Literature Society, the Book-hawking Society, the Open-Air

Mission, the Diocesan Home Mission, and the Theatre Preaching Committee. With regard to the last-named undertaking, George Moore himself appeared on the stage of all the theatres in the poorest parts of London, including the Pavilion, the Victoria, the Garrick, the Standard, and Sadler's Wells. Lord Shaftesbury used to say that George Moore did a far greater amount of good than himself, but the public did not see most of it, as it was below the surface.

The spirit which animated Mr. Moore is well exemplified in a number of extracts which Dr. Smiles culled from his diary. A few of these extracts we reproduce—

"I wish that my faith were as strong as my works ; and I also wish that the works of many of those with whom I have to do were as strong as their faith. With some, faith is everything, and works nothing."

"When a man is faithful and true in small things, depend upon it that he will be faithful and true in great things. Great principles depend upon small details."

"'Godliness is God-likeness.' It is seated in the heart. Godliness makes a man content with his circumstances. Godliness is not carelessness. No one is so rich as to be at liberty to be extravagant. Godliness does not remove the curse of labour, but dignifies it."

"A man has just as much Christianity as he has humility. O God, give me more humility. Enable me to keep myself in the background. But I must live for others as well as for myself."

"Better be wrong in the effort to do right than be indifferent."

"There is no greater mistake than in investing religion with gloom. Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

"I have been forgiven much: I ought to love much."

"How often have I found that apparent adversity has worked far greater happiness than the greatest prosperity! 'He that sows in tears shall reap in joy.'"

"In the present life we can only judge a man by his works. Hereafter, when the counsels of the heart are made manifest, works will be judged by the man himself. 'A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.'"

"Profession must be accompanied by practice. At the same time, good works are no justification before God, for by the flesh shall no man be justified. The believer is justified, but good works must prove his claim to the title. Good works are the evidence of faith."

"I am convinced that profuse charity to the poor, given indiscriminately and without inquiry, does no real good. It fosters idleness. It rears up a class of professional mendicants. It promotes dissolute habits amongst beggars, and enormously increases the evil it is meant to relieve. Like Lord Brougham, I think that Drink is the mother of Want, and the nurse of Crime."

The loneliness from which George Moore suffered became so oppressive, and companionship at home was so necessary to him, that his friends

urged him to look round for another helpmeet. At length he found one on whom he could firmly set his affections, and on the 28th of November, 1861, he was married at St. Pancras' Church, to Agnes, second daughter of the late Richard Breeks, of Warcop, in Westmoreland. As his biographer observes, "she proved a right loyal and noble wife" to him. The newly wedded pair went for a tour of two months through France and Italy. On their return, Mr. Moore again threw himself into his charitable work, amongst other things establishing prizes and scholarships in connection with the Commercial Travellers' Schools. He was so indefatigable that one said of him, "If Mr. Moore had been an architect, the new Law Courts would have been finished long since. If he had been an engineer, the Straits of Dover would have been tunnelled long ago!" Another of his friends remarked, "Of all the persons I ever knew, he had the greatest power of extracting talents from others. No matter what it was, he would make them either work for him or work with him. He could never tolerate drones."

His efforts for the moral and intellectual elevation of the workpeople at Bow Churchyard were never intermitted. Family worship was now conducted with between three and four hundred daily. "Several associations had been started for the benefit of the young men and young women. There were devotional meetings, Bible-classes, a Mutual Improvement Association for adults, and a Self-Help Association for apprentices. The library contained more than a thousand volumes,

and was supplied with upwards of forty daily and weekly newspapers, besides periodicals. Lectures were delivered by men of high position and influence." Among these distinguished lecturers were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Peterborough, and Carlisle, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Dr. Brock, the Rev. Newman Hall, the Rev. J. C. Ryle, Miss Marsh, Dr. Allon, Dr. Parker, the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, the Rev. R. Maguire, the Rev. W. Arthur, the Rev. W. D. Maclagan, Dr. Stoughton, and Dr. Cumming. He pursued the same course with his workpeople at Nottingham. Another excellent feature of his intellectual propaganda was his wide distribution of good books. He gave them away by thousands, taking edition after edition of some works. Miss Marsh's books were great favourites with him, and of Ryle's "Exposition of St. Luke" he distributed thousands of copies all over the country.

When Garibaldi visited London, in 1864, George Moore was one of his enthusiastic entertainers. He also contributed a handsome sum towards buying him an estate in his own country, but as the Italian patriot was too independent to accept the gift, the donor divided his contribution between the Church Missionary Society and the Pastoral-Aid Society. In 1865 and 1866 Moore began his support of the Little Boys' Home and the Field Lane Ragged Schools. Towards building the former he gave £200, whilst in 1870 Mrs. Moore gave £1000 to build the last house. By will Mr. Moore left £3000 to the institution. The home was

founded for ragged boys who were in danger of falling into crime. It had its workshops, in which were carried on the various trades. First, came home ; secondly, education ; thirdly, industrial training. All boys over ten years of age were half-timers, attending school and work alternately. The trades were superintended by the fathers of the houses, and embraced breadmaking, printing, shoemaking, engineering, bookbinding, tailoring, gardening, painting and glazing, carpentering, farming. The workshops formed part of a large central building, which also contained the needle-room, the laundry, the swimming-bath, and the superintendent's residence.

And in remembering the orphans of London he did not forget the outcasts. From east to west he knew what the misery of London was. He searched out criminals with the police, and accompanied the City missionaries into the lowest dens of the metropolis. He saw what social neglect, vice, and crime had done for the pariahs of civilization ; and the pale cheeks, stunted bodies, and weary eyes of the children haunted him. It seemed to him that the only remedy for many of the evils was to get hold of the children, and place them under better influences ; hence his support of orphanages, ragged schools, shoe-black brigades, City missions, etc. By way of doing something to feed the hungry, all through the year he sent the surplus provisions from the warehouse dinners for distribution amongst the poorest children to be found in London. The Field Lane Ragged Schools and the refuges for the homeless

poor did a wonderful work. In one year eighteen hundred young women, driven to destitution by sudden illness, misfortune, or loss of employment, took refuge in the home, and nearly half of them found situations or were restored to their friends. In connection with the Ragged Schools, there were five free schools, in which twelve thousand boys and girls were educated without charge, and through which—within a few years of their opening—twenty thousand children had passed, of whom four thousand had been placed in situations, thereby gaining their own living. There was a class of young girls from ten to sixteen years of age, half of whom were rendered able to earn their livelihood. In the mothers' class, sewing and clothes-mending were taught, but the main feature was religious instruction. Nearly fifteen thousand persons benefited by the institution in one year, and at the Ragged Church two hundred thousand souls were in a brief space of time brought under the influence of the gospel.

Dr. Smiles furnishes interesting glimpses of several distinguished men in his "Life of Mr. Moore," and these glimpses throw light both upon their own character and upon the deeply religious nature of Mr. Moore himself. While his wife was absent at Ems for the benefit of her health, George Moore visited Charles Dickens at Gad's Hill, and enjoyed himself there for several days. "I was delighted," he says, "to find that Charles Dickens was sound upon the gospel. I found him a true Christian without great profession. I have a great liking for him." Going afterwards by steamer to

Antwerp, to join his wife at Ems, on the voyage he encountered a distinguished-looking clergyman, with whom he entered into conversation on the work of the Church, and other topics. They differed on many matters, but parted with feelings of mutual esteem. The clergyman proved to be Archdeacon Denison, who has thus given his recollections of George Moore: "It was easy to see that we were of very different—I might say, of opposite—schools in the matter of the religious life. Such differences there must always be, and there is no larger field that I know of for the exercise of charity. I had much talk with Mr. Moore, and it left a lasting impression upon me, not more lasting than comforting. I found a man ready and glad to extend to me all the respect and kindness which I was ready and willing to extend to him—one who had done great things for himself and for his; and who had not been content to rest there, but had done great things for his fellow-men wheresoever he came into contact with them. I looked upon him, and listened to him, with all our wide difference, with the respect that is always won by a character and life like his. I parted from him with regret, and the day has always lived among my happy memories." When a materialistic philosopher assailed the Bible, George Moore replied, "My theology is utterly untouched by the plague of rationalism. I have no wavering about the inspiration of the Word—no picking and choosing amid alleged myths—no paring down of the atonement." In 1867 the Emperor of Russia visited London, and Mr. Moore, with two members of the

British and Foreign Bible Society, waited upon him, to present the "Bible of every land," and to express their congratulations upon his Majesty's providential preservation from the wicked attempt made upon his life during his visit to the Paris Exhibition. The Czar said, in answer to the address, "I thank you from my heart for the sentiments which you have now expressed to me. I have been profoundly touched by them, and I beg that you will make this known to all your countrymen. I sincerely thank you for waiting upon me with this address." Then, laying his hand upon his heart, he once more added, "I have been deeply touched by the sentiments you have expressed."

Mr. Moore fought a sharp but decisive contest on the religious education question when the Middle Class Schools were established. He promised to contribute £1000 on one condition—that the religious education was to be conducted in the same manner as in the City of London School, where prayers were read morning and evening, and where the Biblical knowledge of the boys was tested by examination. Having ascertained that religious instruction was altogether disregarded in the schools, Mr. Moore declined to pay his subscription, as a matter of principle, until the condition had been complied with. A long correspondence with Mr. Tite, M.P., the treasurer, ensued, in the course of which Mr. Moore remarked that "education, without direct religious teaching, is a mere delusion. It is like launching a ship on a dark night, in a storm, without helm or compass. It is

professing to train immortal beings that they may run the race of life and obtain a happy hereafter, and yet not giving them any rule how to run so as to obtain." In the end Mr. Moore gained his point. Religious instruction was provided for, and the Bishop of London visited the schools, and examined the arrangements. Mr. Moore contributed the promised £1000, and wrote in his diary, "I thank God that I have fought this fight manfully, and have succeeded in getting the Bible and prayers into these schools. This has been accomplished by perseverance. I felt it was my duty, or I could never have fought the battle single-handed against the council, composed as it was of the first men in the City."

In the year 1868 George Moore built a church and schools for the squalid district of Somers Town—a district lying north of the New Road, between Euston and King's Cross Stations. At a preliminary meeting, held at Mr. Moore's house, the Bishop of London drew this terrible picture of the locality: "Not one person in a thousand attends a place of worship. Of the two hundred and twenty-eight shops in the district, two hundred and twelve are open on Sunday, though about seventy are closed on Saturday, the Jewish sabbath. Not half the Gentile population can read; half the women cannot ply a needle. One mothers' meeting has seventy members, half of whom, though living with men and having families, are unmarried. Nine families out of ten have but one small room in which to live, eat, and sleep. Not one family in six possesses a blanket or a change of clothing.

Not one in four has any bedding beyond some sacking, which contains a little flock or chopped straw. Not one in twenty has a clock ; not one in ten has a book. Many of the houses are in the most wretched condition of filth and dirt. The walls, ceilings, floors, and staircases are broken and rotten. Drunkenness, brawling, blaspheming, and other sins are fearfully prevalent. Forty-three lodging-houses accommodate two thousand lodgers, who pay from threepence to sixpence a night. Some are occupied by poor, hard-working people, gaining an honest livelihood, while others are called 'thieves' kitchens,' the lodgers living by theft, burglary, and other criminal practices." George Moore resolved to bring light into this dark place. Lord Somers provided a freehold site for the church in Carlton Street, and the building was erected by the close of 1868, schools being afterwards added. There was accommodation for a thousand people in the church, and upwards of a thousand children in the schools. Mr. Moore spent £15,000 on the buildings, and subscribed £250 per annum to carry on the parish work necessary in so poor and miserable a locality. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted an endowment of £300 a year to the vicar of the new church. Mrs. Moore presented an elegantly carved pulpit, Mr. Copestake, jun., an organ, and Mr. George Stockdale, another intimate friend of Mr. Moore, the font. The church was opened and consecrated on the 23rd of December, 1868, by Dr. Tait, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and it was his last official act as Bishop of London. The

church and schools proved a great boon to an overcrowded district, in which much good and salutary work has since been done.

Mr. Moore's catholicity in religious matters was very conspicuous. For instance, he would take the chair at Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, and help the orphanage by a liberal subscription; he presided over the farewell meeting to the Rev. Morley Punshon; he frequently took the chair at Dr. Stoughton's Chapel, in support of the schools and of the Young Men's Missionary Association; and he manifested a special interest in the Christian community founded by John Wesley in 1772. This community devoted itself to work after his own heart, for its objects were to visit and preach the gospel in workhouses, lodging-houses, asylums, public rooms, and in the open air. But in some things Mr. Moore was very firm. When requested to contest Mid-Surrey in the Liberal interest, in 1868, he declined, not only for business reasons, but because he could not support Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy. He desired the Church to be reformed, he said, not destroyed. When he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, at the instance of Lord Salisbury, he took his seat on the bench, and shared in the administration of justice. He likewise frequently attended the committee to administer relief to the poor at the Mansion House. The Bishop of London's Fund, and a hundred other excellent organizations, had a warm friend in him. He spent his time and his strength in good works, while his diary contained many such entries as this: "I gave Henry Kings-

cote £500 to start his Institution for the Blind." During the year he was prime warden of the Fishmongers' Company and afterwards, he obtained from the company a long list of subscriptions to benevolent objects. As almoner of Christ's Hospital, he never rested until he had effected necessary reforms in that institution, although he suffered defeat on some proposals. He settled two sums of £1000 each on the hospital—one being an endowment for prizes for proficiency in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the other for the benefit of the Blind Charity connected with the hospital. He further celebrated the jubilee of the Commercial Travellers' Schools by establishing a scholarship and prizes of the united value of £85 per annum.

At the close of the terrible siege of Paris, in 1871, George Moore was appointed, with Colonel Stuart Wortley, joint dispenser of the "City of London Paris Relief Fund," with food and money to the amount of £160,000; and by his administrative ability and firmness of purpose he did much to relieve the awful distress then prevailing. On the 31st of January Mr. Moore started for Paris, and he had the great satisfaction to find that his relief train was the first to arrive in the city. But when the provisions had safely arrived, the getting them from the station was a difficult matter, for nearly all the horses in Paris had been eaten, and those which were left had scarcely strength to crawl about the streets. However, George Moore was made to overcome obstacles, and he managed to get seventy tons of food to the warehouses of

Copestake, Moore, and Co., in the Place des Petits Pères. There the work of distribution began among the famished people. The sights beheld were most distressing. Here is an extract from Mr. Moore's diary, dated the 12th of February : "The crowds at the warehouse increase. This we keep exclusively for women. There is a *queue* of ten or fifteen thousand waiting there to-day ; they have waited all through last night. I felt heart-sick when I saw them. It was one of the wildest nights of sleet and fearful wind ; and, starved and exhausted and drenched as they were, it was a sight to make a strong man weep. We are straining ourselves and all about us to the uttermost. I believe we were just in time ; a few days more, and the people would have been too far gone ; many were hardly able to walk away with their parcels. After waiting with wonderful patience, when they got the food many of them fairly broke down from over-joy. I have seen more tears shed by men and women than I hope I shall ever see again." One young woman in mourning, evidently a lady of a superior class, had been actually waiting thirty-nine hours in the *queue*. Again, Mr. Moore wrote of a fearful scene of struggling on the 18th, when some eight thousand people were packed like sardines in a box : "I had with me Colonel Wortley, Mr. Malet, Oliphant of the *Times*, Mr. Landells, Marshall of the *Telegraph*, and the Hon. Alan Herbert. We vainly tried to keep the people back. We loudly supplicated them to stand still, as all should be served ; but it was of no use. The surging mass grew still denser.

At last we were forced to pull the front ranks through the door, to save them from being crushed to death. Five unconscious women were borne in upon our arms. We brought them to life again with aromatic vinegar and stimulants. It was a regular fight for food. If they had not been in extreme want, such a fight could never have taken place." All classes of society had felt the pinch of hunger, and the President of the Republic was as glad to receive a ham from the English relief convoy as was the humblest French citizen. The noble and humane work of food-distribution was at length successfully carried through, and the poor people of Paris made a hero of George Moore. He received the Order of the Legion of Honour; but, as he said, he valued far more the thanks of the Paris chiffoniers. After the second siege of Paris, and the horrible Communistic outrages—including the murder of the good archbishop—Mr. Moore and his wife again visited Paris, and were shocked beyond measure to see the devastation which had been wrought.

Mr. Moore was appointed High Sheriff of Cumberland in 1872, and the charge of his native county was an honour which he felt proud to accept. But he was a very modest and unassuming man, and could never be prevailed upon to go to court, although the Queen had no more loyal subject. On one occasion he was asked to go to a *levée* by one of the members of the royal family, but he replied, "No, no; court is not the place for warehousemen." The new high sheriff presided at a county meeting held at Carlisle for

the purpose of presenting an address to the Queen, congratulating her on the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his serious illness. In the course of an admirable speech, Mr. Moore did not shrink from expressing his earnest religious convictions. "I call the recovery of the Prince," he said, "a miraculous recovery, because he was on the very verge of the grave. I believe that the Prince's recovery was in a great measure due to the universal prayer of all classes of the people, of all denominations, from one end of the country to the other. It convinces me more than ever that God rules everything. . . . The Prince's illness has aroused a feeling of loyalty in this country that must be very satisfactory to us all. It must be most gratifying to the Prince to see that he possesses the warm love and affection of the people of this country. Such a display as that which took place last week in London has never occurred in any country. Thousands and tens of thousands of people assembled along seven miles of streets; there were two millions of people there to welcome him and his beloved mother. What a contrast the scene of last week presented to the great hardships which I witnessed in Paris twelve months ago! When I reflect upon the difference of the two scenes, it is a perfect marvel to me. I attribute it a great deal to the fact that in our beloved country we read and love the Bible, whereas in that country it is the want of that most blessed of all books that keeps the people in their present state!"

The boarding-out of pauper children was a sub-

ject to which George Moore warmly devoted himself. He was anxious to rescue them from all pauperizing influences, and this could only be done by taking them out of the workhouses and bringing them up in healthy homes. While others were theoretically discussing the advantages of the system, Mr. Moore practically solved it by actually finding homes for all the orphan girls of two Cumberland workhouses, and he continued carrying on the work. In London he took up the cause of the cabmen, and generously assisted their mission-hall. He assisted Miss Rye in her efforts to induce poor girls to emigrate to Canada, paying one-half their expenses. His daily correspondence was most onerous, for he answered his letters himself, and they amounted to forty or fifty daily. "They were about every conceivable thing—about Bow Churchyard, about missionaries, about salaries, about shorthorns, about schools, about Bible societies, about horses, about situations for people's sons; but principally about money. The whole world wanted money. Shoeblacks, convicts, schoolmasters, clergymen, emigrants, travellers, working lads, servants, vagrants, missionaries, Scripture-readers, all wanted money! The reports he received were innumerable. The societies which sent them, like *Oliver Twist*, invariably 'wanted more'!" No one will ever know the amount of good which George Moore did in private, and it was always amongst those who needed it the most, but who, strange to say, are those most often neglected. His servants, domestic and commercial, all blessed his name for his warm personal

sympathy. Wherever he saw talent he encouraged it, sending some of his assistants to St. Bees, and others to Cambridge. Six became clergymen of the Church of England, four Dissenting ministers, and two went out as missionaries.

In the course of a very short time Mr. Moore was called upon to sustain the loss of four dear friends—Mr. Howard, of Greystoke Castle, Sir Hope Grant, Mr. George Stockdale, and Mr. Copestake, his faithful partner in business for forty-four years. These repeated blows told upon him, and he frequently wondered when his own end would come. He began to cast up his earthly accounts, making munificent provision for individuals as well as for charities. On the dissolution of his firm by Mr. Copestake's death, he voluntarily gave up all the deceased's shares to his partners. He also gave the new firm about £45,000, and distributed a nearly equal amount among old servants of the firm. He further set apart a sum of £15,000 to establish a convalescent hospital. One of his last public acts was to preside over the Parliamentary Commission to inquire into the money order system of the post-office. Soon afterwards his health broke down in consequence of his numerous engagements, and at the close of May, 1876, he was ordered to Vichy by Mr. Erichsen and Sir William Gull. Before going he took an active part in organizing the Clerical Education Society, towards which enterprise he contributed £6000. It is stated that only a few days before his death "he was occupied in sending out letters to young men whom he thought likely to be serviceable in the Church."

Returning to England on the 27th of June, he went down to Whitehall, where he arranged for a conference of thirty Scripture-readers at his house, and for five Bible meetings which were to be held in the neighbourhood during the following week. A month later he presided at a conference of deputations from all the Young Men's Christian Associations in the North of England, held at Wigton. Friends visited him as usual at Whitehall during the next few weeks, but his thoughts at this period seemed very frequently to turn to the subject of death, as though he had a presentiment that his own death was at hand. This proved to be the case. His end was tragic, for he was knocked down by a runaway horse in English Street, Carlisle, on the 20th of November, 1876, and he died of his injuries the next day. His last act had been to prepare some notes for a speech which he intended to deliver at the meeting of the Nurses' Institution at Carlisle. The news of his death caused intense grief in the city of London, and throughout his native county of Cumberland.

The funeral took place in the churchyard of Allhallows, and among the pall-bearers were the Archbishop of York and Sir Wilfred Lawson. The Burial Service in the church was conducted by George Moore's old friend and pastor, Canon Reeve, and that at the vault-side by the Bishop of Carlisle. After the latter, the assembled multitude sang, "Safe in the arms of Jesus." From the archbishop to the humblest labourer, all mourned in the dead a common friend. Many tributes were paid to his memory, and numerous memorials

erected, that at Carlisle taking the form of an educational institution to come between the elementary schools and the higher class schools. At the time of his death George Moore was engaged with Dr. Percival in perfecting this scheme, and he set aside a sum of £12,000 for the purpose of carrying it out. Subscriptions were now added amounting to about £8300. Among other memorials was a marble tablet, with a medallion likeness of the deceased, erected in Carlisle Cathedral, with an epitaph by the bishop, "to perpetuate his name and example, and as a tribute of love." Bells were hung in the church at Silloth, and a beautiful memorial window in the church at Wigton represented the dead philanthropist as the good Samaritan, ministering to the man who was wounded and distressed. George Moore's workpeople at Bow Churchyard subscribed more than £500, and presented a lifeboat to the National Lifeboat Institution, which was placed on the wild and rocky coast of Carnarvonshire. "George Moore Memorial Buildings" were erected in connection with the Commercial Travellers' Schools, and many other means were taken to commemorate the dead.

The nature and life of George Moore could not better be described, or in fewer words, than they are set forth in the epitaph placed by the Moore Education Trust in Carlisle Cathedral: "A man of rare strength and simplicity of character, of active benevolence and wide influence. A yeoman's son, he was not born to wealth, but by ability and industry he gained it, and he ever used

it as a steward of God, and a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the furtherance of all good works." If faithfulness and assiduity in service fit a man to enter the presence of the Master, then death could never have come amiss to George Moore ; for he was instant, in season and out of season, in doing God's will, in visiting the widow and fatherless in their affliction, and in stretching forth his hand to save him that was ready to perish.

VIII.

HANNINGTON, THE EAST
AFRICAN HERO.

VIII.

HANNINGTON, THE EAST AFRICAN HERO.

As the Church in the Melanesian Islands has had its martyr in the person of John Coleridge Patteson, so the dark regions of Eastern Equatorial Africa have had their martyr in James Hannington, likewise the first bishop of an extensive and comparatively unknown territory. In both these servants of the Cross there were manifested the same high qualities—fearlessness in danger, an indomitable spirit, lofty courage, unselfish devotion, and a heart gentle in suffering and great in sympathy. Their example has already fired the enthusiasm of many English Christians, and led them to devote themselves to the work of evangelization in the dark places of the earth; and that example must acquire an ever-increasing strength as the years roll on, and Africa and the South Seas are opened up in still larger measure to the influences of civilization and Christianity.

James Hannington came of an old Sussex family, and his great-grandfather married the last of the ancient stock of the De Meophams, who were Saxon nobles in the year 970 A.D. But to

James Hannington's conduct was a far more legitimate source of pride than birth. His immediate progenitors were men of business; and his father, Charles Smith Hannington, having amassed a fortune at Brighton by his skill and industry, settled down upon a property which he had purchased at St. George's, Hurstpierpoint, and which henceforth became the home of the family. It was here that James Hannington was born on the 3rd of September, 1847. In his earliest youth he showed a keen affection for all living creatures, small and great. Indeed, he has been described as a born naturalist, and this quality comes out again and again in his records of travel. He does not seem to have had a systematic education in his childhood, for the first thirteen years of his life were spent at home, and in travelling and yachting with his parents. His fearless and excitable nature kept his parents in a constant state of alarm; and, among other anecdotes recorded of him, it is related how, at the age of seven, he clambered unnoticed up the mast of his father's yacht, and was at last discovered high aloft, suspended on some projection by the seat of his trousers. On another occasion, while experimenting with gunpowder, the thumb of his left hand was nearly blown off. The doctor found it hanging by the skin, and amputation was necessary. As the sufferer himself afterwards said, it was a great wonder he was not taken off by tetanus. Hannington's biographer, the Rev. E. C. Dawson, says that James determined to go to sea; but, in consequence of the death of an elder brother at

sea, his parents resolved never to allow another son to enter the navy. "So the country lost a daring seaman, but she has gained thereby the priceless legacy of the memory of a Christian martyr."

In 1860, at the age of thirteen, Hannington was sent to the Temple School at Brighton. It was a private school, and the methods pursued led Hannington, later in life, to criticize severely the private tutor and private school system, which permitted frequent visits home through mistaken kindness, thus interfering with that thorough educational training which is desirable. Hannington did not progress in this respect as he ought to have done; but he was a great favourite with both master and boys, owing to his brave, truthful, and open character. After two years of school life Hannington was placed in the counting-house at Brighton, where he remained, more or less, for six years, although he was utterly unsuited to the monotonous routine of a commercial life. In 1863 he made a Continental tour in company with his late schoolmaster, visiting Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Wiesbaden, the Black Forest, the Alps, Milan, and Venice, etc. The very observant mind peeps out in his acute comments on men and things during this journey. After he returned home he became second lieutenant in the 1st Sussex Artillery Volunteers. He made rapid progress in soldiering, displayed considerable organizing power, and was a great favourite with the men. Though thoroughly at home in all kinds of sports, yachting, and shooting, Hanning-

ton had many serious moments ; and it was on one of these occasions, when he had just passed his seventeenth year, that he penned the following lines :—

“ My heart, Lord, may I ever raise,
To Thee in humble thanks and praise
For keeping me throughout this year !
Lord, guide and guard me while I'm here,
And when to die my time is come,
Oh ! take me to Thy heavenly home.”

From 1863 to 1866 we hear much of his cruises in the Mediterranean, the Baltic, etc., and also of his service with the volunteers, in which he attained the grades of captain and major. “At this time he began to show signs of that interest in the welfare of young men which in after-years was so marked a feature of his ministry. He took a great deal of trouble in procuring for them suitable recreation-rooms, and personally inspected, tested, and bought the various articles necessary for their equipment. He organized concerts, readings, and games, and made himself a prime favourite with the men under his charge.”

By the year 1868 Hannington had become strongly imbued with the desire to enter the ministry of the Church of England. He made the acquaintance of Dean Burgon at the house of his brother-in-law, Archdeacon Rose, and the dean exercised a very beneficial effect over him. He at length succeeded in emancipating himself from commerce, and, on the 22nd of October, 1868, he was entered as a commoner at St. Mary Hall, Oxford. Mr. Dawson, in describing him as he was at this time, says he was “a tall, well-

proportioned young fellow, with somewhat loosely and plially set figure, that gave promise of both activity and power." He was careless in his dress, and the whole aspect of his countenance was "combative, yet attractive; volatile, yet full of latent strength; assertive, yet retiring. Altogether, quite a noticeable face and figure: not by any means to be ignored. The outer clothing of a nature capable of great things, if seized and moulded by the Divine Spirit." Although he was never a dunce at the university, Hannington was not an industrious student; but what he chose to learn he learned accurately and thoroughly. He took the college by storm; and, while he had a sharp, quick temper, and a ready and sometimes caustic wit, "through all his actions there ran a strong under-current of genuine kindliness, unaffected simplicity, and genial love of his kind, which at once attracted others to him." He was something entirely out of the common, with his original, fun-loving, and unconquerable ways, and he was ever the life and soul of the set in which he moved. But, though he was "eminently social, he never indulged himself to excess;" and "during his residence at Oxford he exercised a real and entirely salubrious influence over his fellows." During his long career at Oxford he rowed frequently in the "eight." In February, 1872, he lost the controlling influence of his life by the death of his mother. He loved her deeply, and the loss caused him intense grief. Returning to the university, he closed his course in June, 1873, when he took his B.A. degree.

A thorough change came over Hannington soon after leaving the university, and he attributed his real conversion in the outset to the prayers and correspondence of his friend and biographer, then a curate in Surrey. He was at length ordained on the 1st of March, 1874, and to a man of his strong feelings ordination was a solemn and awful event. As he left Exeter Cathedral he said, "I am ordained, and the world has to be crucified in me. Oh for God's Holy Spirit!" He became Curate of Martinhoe and Trentishoe, out-of-the-way villages in Devonshire. His life here was very unconventional, and when, on one occasion, he was compelled to don the usual clerical habiliments on being called upon to preach in an Essex parish, he said, "I found it a great burden going about in black clothes and a top hat. I never could stop in such a place!" At this time he still went through many spiritual conflicts to bring his soul and body into subjugation to the perfect will of Christ. His naturalist adventures in Devonshire were many and hazardous, and he was in the habit of describing the best of them in rhymes, which were certainly distinguished for vigour and humour, if not for exact prosody. On leaving Devonshire Hannington was for a time Curate of Darley Abbey, a suburb of Derby, and afterwards of his father's church of St. George's, Hurstpierpoint. At the latter place he was singularly successful in attracting his hearers to him, and the young men who formed his Bible-class and temperance association were known as "Hannington's saints"—a title of which they were proud.

Hannington answered the description of George Herbert, "The country parson desires to be all to his parish." He ministered to the bodily necessities of his people, as well as to their spiritual needs ; and we read of his taking part in surgical operations, of administering philanthropy, and of advising and helping in a thousand things which affected the physical welfare of his parishioners. At the same time, he was developing into the powerful preacher and the earnest pastor. With regard to his religious views, although he was himself, in the outset of his career, drawn towards High Church principles, he loved all who loved his Master, and was ready to work cordially with them. He was instrumental in turning many to the holy life whom others would have despaired of.

In February, 1877, Hannington found a true helpmeet in his labours in Blanche, second daughter of Captain J. M. Hankin-Turvin, formerly of Terlings Park, Hertfordshire, but then residing at Leacrofts, Hurstpierpoint. They were married at St. George's, the curate's warm-hearted parishioners crowding the edifice and its approaches. That Hannington had accurately read the character of his wife is demonstrated by the language of his biographer : "His wife became his second self. She entered with all her steadfast heart and soul into his many works. She softened in him what needed to be softened, strengthened him to persevere when she saw that he was down-hearted, encouraged him in his favourite scientific pursuits, bore with a bright and gentle patience those vagaries of his which might have proved a severe

trial to one less wise than herself, submitted to be teased with unvarying good humour, never let him feel that he was reined in, curbed, or hampered, exacted no demonstrations of affection from him other than he freely gave, ever quietly helping, never complaining or obtruding selfish wants of her own to hinder him from making any sacrifice. She conferred upon him the greatest blessing which God has in store for a man in this world—a good wife.”

In home mission work in various parts of the country the next few years were passed. Children were born to the earnest worker, and he took a keen delight in watching the gradual expansion of their minds; but in 1881 he experienced a keen sorrow by the loss of his father, though this was tempered by the fact that in his case death was a happy release from intense suffering. Hannington now took a rest in the Highlands of Scotland, and afterwards in Switzerland, where he climbed some of the lofty peaks of the Alps, including the Breithorn and Monte Rosa. He had a Spartan-like fortitude in enduring pain and fatigue, which was, later, of inestimable service to him in Africa.

The time was now at hand for the great resolve of his life. As early as 1878, when the labours of Lieutenant Shergold Smith and Mr. O’Neil had been crowned by their violent death on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, Hannington had been strongly moved to offer himself as a recruit in the Central African Missionary army. The longing for missionary service never left him, and

in February, 1882, he offered himself to and was accepted by the Church Missionary Society, who deputed him to reinforce their missionaries in Uganda. He was to be at the disposal of the Society for the Nyanza work for a period of five years, on condition that they undertook to supply his place at St. George's Chapel, Hurstpierpoint. The chapel was Hannington's own property since his father's death, but his means would not allow him to provide an adequate stipend for his successor.

The new party which the Church Missionary Society decided to send out to Central Africa consisted of five men in addition to Hannington, viz. the Rev. R. P. Ashe, of St. John's College, Cambridge ; three Islington College students, the Revs. J. Blackburn, Cyril Gordon, and W. J. Edmonds ; and Mr. C. Wise, an artisan. Hannington was appointed leader of the expedition, which was to endeavour to reach Uganda from Zanzibar by the old route, *via* Mamboia, Uyui, and Msalala, and from thence by boat across the Victoria Nyanza to Rubaga. After valedictory services and private farewells, the party left London in the steamship *Quetta*, on the 17th of May, 1882. Zanzibar was safely reached on the 19th of June, and, after an interview with the sultan, Hannington and his friends began their march into the interior. After escaping the dangers of a forest fire *en route*, which formed a terrible sight, and surmounting other difficulties, the station of Mpwapwa was duly reached. Here Hannington made a fine collection of flora and fauna, which was sent home,

a portion of it being deposited in the British Museum. In traversing the next stage he had a severe and prostrating attack of fever. But he insisted on going forward, and, after a long and painful march, the Church Missionary station of Uyui was reached on the 4th of September. Here Hannington was seized with dysentery, and upon this rheumatic fever supervened, the result of a cold, so that he was reduced to the lowest ebb, and looked only for death. He selected a place for his grave, and then, to the unbounded surprise of all, as well as to his own, he began to recover. Resuming the journey, he was conveyed in a hammock by the natives. The party passed through Mirambo's country, a portion of which had not been traversed by a white man before, excepting Captain Speke. Kwa Sundu, in Msalala, was reached on the 8th of November, and shortly afterwards the Victoria Nyanza, at a point to the west of Kagei and Jordan's Nullah. Blackburn and Edmonds had been left at Uyui to take the place of the missionary Copplestone; Ashe and Wise had gone by another route to the lake; and now Stokes, the caravan leader, had to return to the coast, leaving Hannington and Gordon alone. When resting at night they were pestered by tarantulas, fierce ants, and mosquitos, and lions could be heard roaring close to them. One day Hannington had a desperate encounter with two rhinoceroses, which he managed to beat off, wounding one severely. At another time he fearlessly faced two lions, whose cub he had killed, compelled them to retreat, and then brought the cub into

camp. The natives, after these exciting incidents, came to regard him as invincible. Ashe and Wise rejoined him in December, but they were very ill, and Gordon was absolutely confined to his bed. Everything fell upon Hannington, and he likewise now began to feel the return of the fever. Struggles ensued with mutinous crews and extortionate natives, but eventually the party reached Kagei, and were welcomed by the Arab chief Sayid bin Saif, "the white man's friend." Certain French priests stationed here entertained the travellers hospitably.

But Hannington by this time was greatly reduced through fever and dysentery. He bade farewell to his friends at Kagei, and started for Msalala, little imagining that he was taking the return journey to England. So it was, however. He was suffering dreadful internal agonies, and could not stand upright. His companions insisted on his return to the coast, foreseeing almost immediate death if he persevered, and, with a heart bowed down with disappointment, he was compelled to yield. It was arranged that Ashe should take his place, and accompany Gordon to Rubaga, while Wise was established at Kagei. A long and weary march to the coast followed, aggravated by the horrors of the rainy season. During one portion of the march Hannington was completely prostrated, and lay for five days in a most critical condition. Penry, another missionary who was in the party, died of dysentery. Hannington finally reached Zanzibar on the 10th of May, 1883, and in another month he was again with his friends in England.

But even while journeying homewards he had formed a project of revisiting the dark land from which he had been driven against his will. As Mr. Dawson remarks, "he would not be content now until he had retrieved his defeat, and planted the banner of Christ in the centre of the great continent. He had seen that the most savage and degraded peoples were amenable to Christian influence; and he meant, at no distant time, God helping him, to make another attempt to carry the gospel to them." Hannington himself wrote, after his arrival in England, "I am thankful for experience gained, and that I have lived to plead a cause which is nearer than ever to my heart; for I have seen the need of the Africans, and have realized the sufferings of their spiritual teachers. . . . With all their depravity and darkness, I fully endorse Livingstone's words, that there are excellent traits in their character; that they compare favourably with the early history of now civilized nations, and are capable of a high degree of culture."

The Church Missionary Society gave Hannington a warm welcome; and there were smiles and tears at Hurst, when he once more embraced his wife and little ones. But the Christian pioneer soon grew restless again; and when the Missionary Board set its face against Africa, he presented himself before the Medical Board, and although he earnestly desired Africa, he cheerfully acquiesced when they decided that he might go anywhere except Africa and Ceylon. But the time had not yet come for him to go out again, and Hanning-

ton largely occupied the first nine months of 1884—January to September—in the advocacy of foreign missions, travelling through most of the kingdom. Under date the 1st of October, we read the following entry in his "Last Journals:": "During the past nine months I have travelled 9292 miles, or thereabouts. I have preached during the same time 111 times, and spoken at 187 meetings, besides being present at 34 others."

The question of appointing Hannington Bishop of East Equatorial Africa was mooted early in 1884. At length, in April, the question was brought to an issue. Having been elected by the Correspondence Committee of the Church Missionary Society, whose action was endorsed by the General Committee, the Archbishop of Canterbury made him a formal offer of the see. Hannington had carefully considered the matter beforehand, praying that his intense desire to return to Africa might not be suffered to mislead him; but being now fully prepared to take the onerous post with all its heavy responsibilities, he wrote to the archbishop, accepting the appointment. He said to a friend, in reply to his congratulations, "I feel that I could no more say 'No' than did Gordon when he went to Khartoum."

Bishop Hannington was consecrated on the 24th of June, in the parish church of Lambeth, the Hon. and Rev. A. J. R. Anson being consecrated at the same time to the diocese of Assiniboia. In accepting the bishopric, Hannington—as his biographer observes—was possessed with the full consciousness that his path would not be strewn

with roses ; but he was ready to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." On the day after the consecration a well-known member of the Missionary Committee met him at the House in Salisbury Square, and greeted him with the words, "I must *congratulate* you, Bishop Hannington." He replied, half-humorously, but not without serious meaning, "*Commiserate* me, you mean." The new bishop chose as his chaplain the Rev. E. A. Fitch, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, son of the Vicar of Cromer, to whom Hannington wrote a touching letter on the mutual sacrifices they were making. The bishop felt deeply the pangs of separation from his wife and three children. On the 31st of October he received his degree of D.D. at Oxford. Farewells were taken on the 4th of November, and on the 5th the party sailed from London in the *Nepaul*.

The bishop received a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit Jerusalem, and confirm the Churches on the way out. He accordingly spent nearly two months in Palestine, visiting all the places of interest ; and his impressions are vividly described in his "Last Journals." At Jerusalem he worked laboriously, and he regarded it as a happy omen that he should have been permitted to hold his first ordination in the holy city. His last day in Palestine, New Year's Day, 1885, was likewise the first day of the last year of his life. Writing of the bishop during this Palestine tour, Mr. Fitch said, "How kind and gentle he was to all ! how considerate for others, and anxious not to give an offence, even where a

rebuke was necessary ! and so spiritually minded, walking so closely with God. I shall never forget our journey together. Every morning, often in the early dusk, we would have prayers together, and always the hundred and twenty-first psalm, which I had to read. If the books had been packed away, the bishop himself would say the psalm by heart. He was so kind and genial ; everybody loved him. Wherever he went there was a brightness. On board ship all loved him. Wherever he went in Palestine, the people complained that their time with him was too short."

The African party embarked on the 2nd of January, and, after visiting Cairo and the Pyramids on the way, steamed into the sheltered harbour of Mombasa on the 20th. The people of Frere Town gave the bishop an enthusiastic welcome, and he at once began to make himself acquainted with the condition of the churches and schools. These were found to be excellently organized ; but he sought here—as everywhere in his diocese during his brief episcopate—to infuse spiritual life and vigour into every man and every branch of every department of the work. He was so energetic and so ubiquitous that no one knew where to expect him next. "To-day in Mombasa, to-morrow at Zanzibar, a few days later at Taita, again prospecting round Kilima-njaro, and suddenly, while all thought him far away in the interior, reappearing in the streets of Frere Town." Calling on Sir John Kirk, at Zanzibar, the latter advised him to advance the mission to Taveta and Chagga and, after an interview with the sultan

and his commander-in-chief, General Matthews, he steamed northward in his own vessel, the *Henry Wright*. On reaching Frere Town he found several questions relating to the mission and his own authority which required prompt settlement, and these he firmly but kindly adjusted. When the vexed question came up whether the missionaries should take their wives with them to unhealthy and perilous posts, the bishop was strongly against it. He spoke in this matter from practical experience of the dangers and difficulties, and the sub-Committee on African Missions took a similar view. In an amusing postscript to one of his letters, the bishop said, "While I shudder at the thought of young married women coming out, I should gladly welcome a few strapping old maids, who could go about by twos, even to Uganda. Send out a dozen to try."

Among other questions which gave the bishop considerable trouble to put on a right footing were the baptism of slave-children, the licensing of catechists, ordination, and the higher education of native teachers. In March the bishop set out on a perilous expedition to Kilima-njaro, one of his objects being to investigate the condition of the mission at Taita, which was on the slope of Mount Ndara, and at an elevation of 2500 feet. Mr. Wray was in charge, and the people were besieged by hostile tribes and dying of starvation. It was resolved to take Mr. Wray and his friends away, and to receive them at Rabai. At Taveta the bishop transacted mission work, and also arranged some business on behalf of Mr. Johnston, the

leader of the Kilima-njaro Expedition. He then pushed on amid drenching rains which had already killed one white man, to Moschi, and began the ascent of Kilima-njaro. He made a collection of flora, but could not ascend very high. At a later second attempt, with Mr. Wray and eight others, he ascended to a height of nine thousand feet. He passed through the country of the chiefs Mandara and Fumba, and visited Chagga and Taita. On returning to Frere Town, after a most eventful expedition, the bishop wrote, "I have to praise God for one of the most successful journeys, as a journey, that I ever took. For myself, too, I have enjoyed most excellent health almost the whole way, during a tramp of four hundred miles. May its result be the planting of the Cross of Christ on Kilima-njaro!" This hope was fulfilled, for a mission station was established at Moschi, in Chagga, where Messrs. Wray and Fitch did outpost duty.

Setting out almost immediately again for the north, the bishop took with him his chaplain and catechist. On the way they visited a station of the United Free Methodists at Ribè. Here they were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Houghton, missionaries now well known by name in England, as they were both murdered by the Masai in the spring of 1886, surviving Bishop Hannington by about six months. After visiting other stations, and composing a difficulty with an outlawed chief, the travellers returned to Frere Town. Much work was done here with ordinations and confirmations. The next journey into the interior was by way of Rabai, when the caravan narrowly

escaped an encounter with the warlike Masai. They pushed on to Taita, from whence—after leaving Mr. Wray and Mr. Fitch to proceed to the Chagga station—he began his return to the coast. This journey was probably the most remarkable he ever accomplished. Thomson the traveller had previously covered the distance between Taveta and Rabai at the rate of thirty-four miles a day—a pedestrian feat which up to that time had never been equalled in the annals of African travelling. But now Bishop Hannington eclipsed that great achievement, for he walked from Ndara to Rabai at the extraordinary rate of forty miles a day. The distance, which was estimated at a hundred and twenty miles, was accomplished in exactly three days and half an hour! The object of this rapid march was to catch the *Henry Wright* before she left for Zanzibar, and thus save some weeks of time; but he was unfortunately just two days too late.

The bishop now looked forward to making an entrance into Uganda by a north-eastern route, and he hoped to establish two stations in the heart of the Masai country—one at Ngongo or Bagas, at the foot of Mount Lamuyu, and another in Kavirondo. He anticipated no serious trouble except from the Masai, and he had no idea that his entrance into Uganda from the north-east would be opposed. He was not aware of the alarm then existing amongst the Central African tribes with regard to a European invasion, nor did he know that the chiefs were instilling into their young king Mwanga the duty of repelling any attempt

of white men to enter his kingdom by the "back door" of Kavirondo. In addition to all this, reports of German annexations, exaggerated by the Arab traders, had reached the far interior, and driven the people to the verge of panic.

He planned his last and fateful journey in all good faith, and with prudence and foresight: such dangers as he foresaw he overcame, and he had reached the end of what he considered the perilous part of his journey and touched the frontier of Uganda, when he was struck down in a wholly unexpected manner. No blame whatever could be attached to the brave captain of the enterprise, who was destined to lose his life in it. On the 23rd of July, 1885, Bishop Hannington led the way out of Rabai at the head of a peaceable caravan of men, two hundred strong, hopeful of the success of his bold but noble undertaking. It was no light matter to lead a small army of porters across the burning desert of Taro, and Hannington says, "Starvation, desertion, treachery, and a few other nightmares and furies hover over our heads in ghostly forms." But he allowed nothing to disturb the flow of his spirits. "All the way during that march to Taita his letters reveal him to us, till we seem to see him as he strides ahead with that springy step of his. Arms swinging, eyes ever on the alert to notice anything new or remarkable—now a snatch of song, again a shout of encouragement—a leap upon some rare flower or insect—the very life and soul of his company; while ever and anon his emphatic voice would be raised in the notes of some old familiar tune, and

the wilderness would ring to the sound of a Christian hymn.

‘Peace, perfect peace, our future all unknown?
Jesus we know, and He is on the throne.’”

Amid obstacles of all kinds, including water-famine and food-famine, the heroic band pressed on its course, and at length reached Kikumbuliu. From this place, on the 11th of August, Hannington despatched his last letters both to his wife and to his friends and fellow-labourers at Frere Town. Nothing more was heard of him until this fatal telegram reached England from Zanzibar on New Year's Day, 1886, "Bishop Hannington, who left Mombasa in June last, in order to find, if possible, a new road to the Victoria, which will obviate the long detour by Unyanyembe, has been seized by order of the king, within two days' march of Uganda. The latest report is that the king has given secret orders to have the bishop executed." There was the melancholy satisfaction, however, some time afterwards, that the bishop's own small pocket diary, with daily jottings, was recovered by a Christian lad at Rubaga, who bought it from one of the band that murdered him. Also a journal kept by a native clergyman, the Rev. William Jones—who accompanied the bishop as far as Kwa Sundu—was recovered. It appears that the caravan was composed of three sections: first, Zanzibar and Mombasa Mohammedans, 106; secondly, Rabai men, 66; thirdly, Kisauni, 54; making in all 226 men, exclusive of the bishop and Jones. The victualling of such a party in a famine-stricken district was a daily source of profound anxiety.

They fought their way through jungles, were sometimes almost starved, sometimes in peril of wild beasts, and sometimes stopped in their path by armed men. They had great trouble with the fierce natives of Masai Land, but eventually passed through the country, and made every effort to push on to the Nyanza, their only hope of safety.

A halt was made at Kwa Sundu, on the 11th of October, and the bishop now decided to proceed to the lake alone, leaving Mr. Jones behind in charge of the caravan. He chose fifty men to accompany him, stating that he would try to cross the lake after reaching Lussala (the Massala of Mr. Thomson), and go to Uganda. The caravan, after reaching Rubaga, was to return to the coast, taking the new route by Kavirondo, if desirable. The bishop himself intended to return by the old Unyamwezi route, and visit the churches which were established to the south of the lake. In accounting for the bishop's terrible fate, it must not be forgotten that, in October, 1884, an event had occurred which seriously affected all Church work in Central Africa, and led indirectly to Bishop Hannington's murder. This was the death of Mtësa, King of Uganda, who was succeeded by his son Mwanga, a youth who had none of his father's strength of character, and who succumbed to the evil influences of his chiefs. These chiefs, alarmed at the progress which Christianity was making, played upon Mwanga's fears and aroused his suspicions. An attack was made upon the mission, and three native boys who had embraced Christianity suffered a fearful martyrdom.

Dangers still continued to thicken, and Mr. Mackay, the missionary, was himself threatened, when the bishop resolved upon his journey to Uganda through Masai Land.

Things were at this pass when news arrived in Uganda that a tall Englishman, who had lost a thumb, had reached Busoga. This description left no doubt that it was the bishop, and Messrs. Mackay and Ashe interviewed the king, and endeavoured to persuade him of the peaceable nature of the bishop's mission. But the king held a council with his chiefs, and it was decided to put the stranger to death. Mwanga told Mackay and Ashe that he was only going to be turned back; but they knew they were being deceived, and that the order for his murder had gone forth.

Returning now to the bishop's journey, on the 17th of October he unexpectedly found himself on the shore of the lake, having travelled under great physical hardship and suffering. He reached Lubwa's on the 21st, and, after an altercation with the natives, he climbed up to the summit of a hill, to show those with him a view of the Nile, of whose existence they doubted. Being then enticed away from his followers by a treacherous Moham-medan, who had forsaken his religion and cast in his lot with the natives, he was violently seized, thrown to the ground, and stripped of all his valuables. What followed shall be told in the bishop's own words: "I shouted for help, when they forced me up and hurried me away, as I thought, to throw me down a precipice close at hand. I shouted again, in spite of one threatening

to kill me with a club. Twice I nearly broke away from them, and then grew faint with struggling, and was dragged by the legs over the ground. I said, 'Lord, I put myself in Thy hands. I look to Thee alone.' Then another struggle, and I got to my feet, and was thus dashed along. More than once I was violently brought into contact with banana trees, some trying in their haste to force me one way, others the other, and the exertion and struggling strained me in the most agonizing manner. In spite of all, and feeling I was being dragged away to be murdered at a distance, I sang 'Safe in the arms of Jesus,' and then laughed at the very agony of my situation. My clothes torn to pieces, so that I was exposed; wet through with being dragged along the ground; strained in every limb, and for a whole hour expecting instant death; hurried along, dragged, pushed, at about five miles an hour, until we came to a hut, into the court of which I was forced. 'Now,' I thought, 'I am to be murdered.' As they released one hand, I drew my finger across my throat, and understood them to say decidedly 'No.' I then made out that I had been seized by order of the sultan. Then arose a new agony. Were all my men murdered? Another two or three hours' awful suspense, during which time I was kept bound and shivering with cold, when, to my joy, Pinto (the Portuguese cook) and a boy were brought with my bed and bedding, and I learnt that the sultan meant to keep me prisoner until he had received word from Mwanga, which means, I fear, a week or more's delay; nor can

I tell whether they are speaking the truth. I am in God's hands."

For eight days the bishop was imprisoned in a filthy hut, consumed with thirst, and racked with fever. But he bore his sufferings patiently, and was greatly comforted by his favourite psalm, the twenty-eighth. On the 29th of October appeared the last brief entry in his diary. He was led out that day to an open space without the village, and, as he found himself surrounded once more by his own men, he no doubt imagined that the worst was over. He was not, however, long left in doubt as to the fate in store for him, and Mr. Dawson thus describes the closing scene: "With a wild shout, the warriors fell upon his helpless caravan-men, and their flashing spears soon covered the ground with the dead and dying. In that supreme moment we have the happiness of knowing that the bishop faced his destiny like a Christian and a man. As the soldiers told off to murder him closed round, he made one last use of that commanding mien which never failed to secure for him the respect of the most savage. Drawing himself up, he looked around, and, as they momentarily hesitated with poised weapons, he spoke a few words which graved themselves upon their memories, and which they afterwards repeated, just as they were heard. He bade them tell the king that he was about to die for the Baganda, and that he had purchased the road to Uganda with his life. Then, as they still hesitated, he pointed to his own gun, which one of them discharged, and the great and noble spirit leaped

forth from its broken house of clay, and entered with exceeding joy into the presence of the King." From this act it seemed the obvious conclusion at the time; but long afterwards it transpired that the bishop was not *shot*, but *spear*ed, the superstitious natives fearing that the white man's weapon could not be used against himself.

Bishop Parker, the murdered bishop's successor, stated that Ukutu, one of the boys who escaped the general massacre of Bishop Hannington's porters, "was with the bishop constantly during his imprisonment, and undid his hands when they bound him to lead him off to the spot where he was murdered. He told us that, as the bishop walked to the spot, he was singing hymns nearly all the way. As they were in English, he did not know their meaning; but he noticed that in them the word 'Jesus' came very frequently." Mr. Ashe was fortunate in obtaining the bishop's Bible. A native Christian bought it of a man who had taken it from the bishop. A member of the Native Church Council wrote to Mr. Ashe, saying, "he quite understood that the bishop had lost his life in endeavouring to benefit them."

Seven years after the murder of the bishop, that is, in December, 1892, Mr. Ernest Millar, of the Church Missionary Society, and a member of Bishop Tucker's party for Uganda, wrote to a friend in England an account of the finding of the bishop's remains. Like the ark in Samuel's days, the bones had been carried about from village to village, each and all fearing to give them burial. They were discovered beneath a fallen

house in Mumiya's village—outside the territory of Busoga, and some seventy or eighty miles from the place where he fell—enclosed in an old ammunition-box with a tin lining. The box contained Bishop Hannington's skull—which was recognized by Mr. Leith, who knew him very well—some rib-bones, a pair of boots with very long feet, evidently belonging to Hannington, and the top of his canteen bucket. The remains were conveyed to Mengo, Uganda, and buried in the chancel of the new church erected there, in the presence of the king and the native Christians. In writing to a friend in England to this effect, Bishop Tucker referred to the wonderful progress Christianity was already making among the people, and he added, "Uganda seems to me to be the hope of Africa. To abandon it to anarchy and bloodshed would be more than a blunder: it would be a crime."

After such a testimony, who would dare to say that the blood of Bishop Hannington has been shed in vain? On the contrary, not in centuries, but in the course of a few years, is the old declaration again receiving fulfilment, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." One life laid down for God is often the redemption of many, and this truth is being strangely verified in the history of Uganda.

IX.

BISHOP SELWYN.

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THE career of Bishop Selwyn was unique in this respect—that a remarkable episcopate of twenty-six years at the antipodes was crowned by a second episcopate in England, both of which left an indelible impression upon the Church life brought within the scope of their influence. There was a natural gift of leadership in George Augustus Selwyn, while his capacity for organization was equally undoubted. He had the spirit of the true soldier: while serving, he was earnest, faithful, obedient; when commanding, he was sagacious, enterprising, and fearless. It has been admirably said of this devoted Churchman—whose love to God and loyalty to his sovereign and his archbishop were his guiding principles—that “he thought no duty too humble, no act of kindness too trifling, and no work to which he was sent too difficult to undertake.” For a man animated by such a spirit, and strongly imbued with the Christian faith, there must, and ever will be, great moral triumphs in store.

Bishop Selwyn was the son of William Selwyn, the eminent Q.C., who married the daughter of

Mr. Roger Kynaston, of Witham, Essex. Mr. Selwyn, late in life, was appointed "instructor to Prince Albert in the constitution and laws of his adopted country." It was William Selwyn's happy destiny to witness the brilliant success of three out of his four sons. The future bishop was born at Church Row, Hampstead—still one of the quaint old suburban nooks—on the 5th of April, 1809. As a child, he exhibited great force and decision of character. He was educated for a time at Ealing, and was then sent to Eton, where he had as contemporaries Lords Hanmer and Selkirk, Gladstone, Harold Browne, and Henry and Stephen Denison. He was a spirited speaker at the Eton Debating Society, a good scholar, and *facile princeps* in all sports. He rowed in the first Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, in 1829, and was a first-class swimmer and pedestrian—athletic powers which he found most serviceable in after-life. Bishop Harold Browne declared that, at Eton, Selwyn "was always first in everything ; and no one ever knew him without admiring and loving him." He had much the same character at Cambridge, whither he went in 1827. He graduated with honours in 1831 as second classic. Successively Scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, he was ordained on his college title in 1833, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. Two years before this he had settled down at Eton as private tutor to the sons of Lord Powis, and he now added to his duties the curacy of Windsor parish church. He soon became the moving spring of Christian work in Windsor ; and the vicar confessed that whatever

salutary changes were effected in the parish were all due to Selwyn.

Though a peacemaker between his parishioners, Selwyn was a formidable opponent of evil customs. He took a wide sweep even in these early operations. When the parish was in debt and a law-suit was threatened, he "led the way towards a peaceful solution of the problem, by relinquishing his own salary for two years;" he managed the river-side arrangements of the Eton boys; he soothed contending factions on the education question; and, with a view to the practical benefit of Windsor, established a parish kitchen long before the days of Schools of Cookery. "His whole residence at Eton," wrote an intimate friend, "was marked by kindly co-operation and cordiality. If there were any misunderstandings among friends, he could not rest until they were reconciled. If pecuniary difficulties fell on any one, he would make every effort to extricate him. If his friends were ill, he was their nurse and companion. If they lost relations or fell under sorrow, he was with them at any hour to console and uphold them. Whether—in short—it were in spiritual work, or in active exercises, or in ordinary amusements, 'whatever his hand found to do, he did it with his might.'"

When the question of cathedral reform agitated the two great political parties, Selwyn, whose ideal of the cathedral system was a very high one, came forward with a pamphlet, in which he demonstrated the immense value of the system to the Church life of England. While he did not question the

right of Parliament to secure a just and effective distribution of Church funds, he strongly denied its right to meddle with the Church fabrics or offices. The position he assumed at the time appeared to many premature and impracticable. Yet, as Canon Curteis has remarked, in his "Biographical Sketch of Bishop Selwyn," "in many dioceses of England—notably in those of London and Lichfield—the cathedral has, since that time, actually realized the ideal which he sketched out." It actually is "the spiritual heart of the diocese;" cathedrals, in fact, "are everywhere reviving and rapidly regaining their lost popularity;" and "the principles which underlie their almost miraculous recovery from torpor and death are precisely the principles advocated with so much spirit and vigour by this young Curate of Windsor in 1838. . . . It is only men of the highest ability and of far-reaching foresight, like Bishop Cyprian in the third century, and Bishop Selwyn in the nineteenth, who feel the absolute necessity of being in touch—by means of chapters, synods, conferences—with their clergy and their lay people."

What proved to be a very happy event in the life of George Selwyn occurred in June, 1839, when he married Sarah, the daughter of Sir John Richardson, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Sir John had for a time a house called "The Philberds," on the Buckinghamshire side of the Thames; and it was in the society of the Richardsons that he met with a congenial spirit, in the high-minded and well-cultivated daughter of the house. It is recorded that the Curate of

Windsor, when he became an accepted suitor, "with characteristic audacity braved the fate of Leander, and swam the midnight Thames on his return from happy evenings at The Philberds." Selwyn now exchanged his Fellowship of £150 a year at St. John's in favour of married life on a modest competency, but with the prospect of succeeding to a rural Welsh parsonage near Powis Castle.

A destiny of quite another kind, however, was reserved for George Selwyn. With the marvellous development of the British colonies, which began during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there sprang up a desire among Englishmen at home to make spiritual provision for colonial settlers, as well as to send out missionary labourers among the native tribes who were slowly being dispossessed. In the year 1830 there were only five colonial bishoprics in existence—Nova Scotia, Quebec, Calcutta, Jamaica, Barbados; but before 1840 the sees of Australia, Madras, Bombay, Newfoundland, and Toronto were added. Then, owing to the efforts of Blomfield, Bishop of London, a fund for endowing additional bishoprics was formed, which soon became known and definitely established under the title of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. The important and rising settlement of New Zealand appearing to Bishop Blomfield to call most urgently for episcopal supervision, that prelate offered the see to Mr. Selwyn. He knew something of the character of the Curate of Windsor and the interest he took in the colonial Churches. Here was a splendid opportunity for "organizing

the Anglo-Catholic Church in 'the rising Britain of the South.'” So, as we learn from the Rev. H. W. Tucker's "Life of Bishop Selwyn," on the 27th of May, 1841, Selwyn wrote from Eton College to the Bishop of London, accepting the appointment. "My lord," he said, "whatever part, in the work of the ministry, the Church of England (as represented by her archbishops and bishops) may call upon me to undertake, I trust I shall be willing to accept it with all obedience and humility. . . . It has never seemed to me to be in the power of an individual to choose the field of labour (which might appear to him) most suited to his own powers. . . . Allow me, then, to place myself unreservedly in the hands of the Episcopal Council, to dispose of my services as they may think best for the Church." This letter revealed the spirit of the man. He was ready to labour in any post, however responsible or difficult, at home or abroad.

The new bishop was duly consecrated, and preached his farewell sermon in Windsor parish church on the 31st of October. In the evening there was a final gathering of friends to bid him "God-speed," among those to take leave being Mr. Gladstone, Justices Coleridge and Patteson, Archdeacon Wilberforce, Mr. Durnford, and Mr. Chapman—who were afterwards Bishops respectively of Oxford, Chichester, and Colombo. Archbishop Howley sent an affectionate valedictory letter, in which he observed, "You will have the great satisfaction of laying the foundations of civilized society in New Zealand on the basis of

an Apostolic Church. Your mission acquires an importance exceeding all calculation, when your see is regarded as the central point of a system extending its influence in all directions; as a fountain diffusing the streams of salvation over the islands and coasts of the Pacific." Some idea of the vast extent of the bishop's jurisdiction may be gained from the fact that from New Zealand outwards it extended as far as the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude. "A mere slip of a clerk's pen committed to his spiritual charge sixty-eight additional degrees of latitude, and sent him forth, in after-years, on his perilous but successful mission to the islands of Melanesia."

On the 23rd of December the bishop's party embarked on board the *Tomatin*, in Plymouth Sound, and sailed three days later, Christmas Day being the last day spent within sight of England. On the voyage out the bishop devoted himself to the study of the art of navigation and to the acquisition of the Maori language, in both of which he became proficient. After a prosperous voyage of four months, the party landed at Sydney on the 14th of April, 1842. The ship was here delayed for some weeks, so that the bishop could not proceed to his destination; but at length he went forward in a little brigantine, and on the 30th of May he safely arrived at Auckland, the seat of his see. We learn that the bishop's first act was to kneel down on the beach and give thanks to God.

Canon Curteis has divided the years which Bishop Selwyn spent in New Zealand into three

sections, the first of which embraced the six years "in which he made a thorough and searching acquaintance with his diocese." When he arrived out, life was still very primitive in New Zealand, and Auckland itself was largely undeveloped as a centre of civilization. There were no roads in 1842, and scarcely any houses, Government House itself being only a one-storied cottage. The natives of New Zealand, moreover, were only just emerging from barbarism. The bishop had scarcely been a month in New Zealand before he accompanied an agent up country to inquire into a recent Maori feud and massacre. They succeeded in restoring peace, and the bishop learnt something of the habits of those amongst whom he was to labour. Shortly afterwards he set sail for the Bay of Islands, near to which, on a long narrow strip of land, he hastened to prepare a home for his wife and infant son. The place was called the Waimaté, a village which was the old head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society.

Bishop Selwyn visited the whole of the northern island of New Zealand in 1842, and the southern island in the following year. He remained at Wellington for some weeks, nursing, with all the tenderness of a woman, a youth named Evans, a fine promising lad of eighteen, who had come with him from England, and whose untimely loss he was now called upon to mourn. Chief Justice Martin, the bishop's most intimate friend, stated that he sat up all night by the bedside, watching the patient as a mother or a wife would. It was a most affecting sight, and one that went to his

heart, to see the bishop practising every little tender art, and doing everything worthy of his noble nature. The bishop afterwards struck into the interior, holding services at every stopping-place, and overcoming obstacles of a natural and human kind which would have baffled a less determined man. At one service he installed Mr. W. Williams as Archdeacon of Waiapu, or East Cape. He held interviews with the great Maori chiefs, some of whom he found to be favourably disposed towards Christianity. Indeed, the bishop was surprised to find, scattered throughout the whole of the northern island, chapels and mission stations, English clergymen and native catechists, Bible-classes and Sunday worship, mission-boats and other paraphernalia. Since this episcopal journey, English settlers have crowded into the land; gold has been discovered; the Maoris have been subjugated; and Wellington has become the seat of government, where Maori and English representatives sit together in Parliament. For most of the benefits achieved, New Zealand was indebted to the Church Missionary Society. Charles Darwin, after his "Voyage" of 1832-36, paid them this tribute: "I took leave of the New Zealand missionaries with feelings of high respect for their useful and upright characters. The march of improvement, consequent on the introduction of Christianity, throughout the South Seas, probably stands by itself in the record of history."

But notwithstanding the excellent work achieved, New Zealand continued to be a frequent theatre

of bloodshed after Bishop Selwyn's arrival. The disastrous 1843 "massacre at Wairau," in the southern island, stirred him deeply. There were men of large views in the north, at Auckland, the seat of government, but in the south the immigration of English settlers was conducted in such a high-handed way as to rouse the natives to bitter resistance. The massacre of English settlers in 1843 created a panic, and the Maoris again became ungovernable in their hostility. The courageous bishop, however, pursued his Christianizing efforts undeterred. He penetrated into every part of his diocese, determined to give a permanent form and substance to the framework of Church order he found already existing. As soon as he had temporarily settled St. John's College and the cathedral library at the Bay of Islands, Bishop Selwyn started forth on his second long visitation journey. He proceeded, by way of the Thames valley, to the district of the hot springs and the terraces, and, before he returned, visited Lake Taupo, New Plymouth, and Wellington. He was accompanied by two chaplains, Mr. Nihill and Mr. Cotton, and by Mr. Clark, the chief "protector of aborigines." With regard to the magnificent terraces which the party visited, and the harmonious inner life of the people of which they were the witnesses, Canon Curteis observes that "both the physical beauty and the religious simplicity then witnessed by the bishop have since been engulfed and almost destroyed." In 1844 the bishop made a thorough visitation of the southern island, including in his survey the Banks Peninsula,

Canterbury Plains, Otago, and Stewart's Island. Before returning to Auckland, he had a perilous voyage to Wellington. On reaching the Waimaté again, he was faced by the necessity of moving the Church head-quarters and St. John's College—the training institution of the future for both races—to Auckland or some still more central spot. This was successfully accomplished, the episcopal head-quarters being finally fixed at Taurarua Bay, near Auckland. Here were ultimately concentrated the bishop's house and college, the library, schoolrooms, and dining-hall; a hospital, a chapel, a printing-house, Mrs. Selwyn's day-school, and a native industrial school, in which the bishop gathered New Zealand lads from all parts of the diocese. The college was regarded as the most important institution of all, as it was the only way of keeping up a supply of clergy when candidates from England failed. The Free Hospital of St. John was organized on the plan of gratuitous nursing by sisters devoted—for the love of God, and not of money—to this work of Christian charity. Many such noble institutions have since been founded in England and the Colonies. As the bishop's biographer has remarked, so widely was the spirit of Christianity diffused in a short time, that nearly all the best Church improvements of the present day were anticipated and displayed in action in the diocese of New Zealand under its first bishop.

Another important matter which Bishop Selwyn brought to a satisfactory issue was his scheme for a complete organization of the whole Australasian

Church. His plan of diocesan synods was the first experiment of the kind made in connection with the Church of England since Convocation was silenced in 1717. Tentative synods were held in 1844 and 1847 ; and in 1850 the six bishops of Australasia met at Sydney, and recommended a Church Constitution, in which the laity should be united with the clergy. The laity of New Zealand petitioned in a similar sense, and at length, in 1859, the first General Synod was held, when five bishops and a large number of clergy and laity were present. A Constitution for the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand was framed and perfected, which was confirmed by the bishop in 1865, and again when he took his final farewell in 1868. The Anglican Church in New Zealand was constituted a free Church.

Church and diocesan work having been thus happily placed on a sound footing, and a temporary truce having been agreed to between the Maoris and the English, in the spring of 1848 Bishop Selwyn made a voyage to the Melanesian Islands in her Majesty's ship *Dido*. He was so pleased with what he saw of work to be done that he made a second cruise in his little schooner, the *Undine*, in the following year. It was his object to persuade the natives to allow their children to accompany him to New Zealand, in order that they might be civilized and taught the elements of Christianity. In some of his journeyings the bishop was in "perils of waters, and perils by the heathen ;" but his very indifference to danger sometimes saved him, and he acquired a wonder-

ful influence over the savages. Native children of both sexes were taken and trained, and many of them were received into the Church.

In 1854 the bishop began the task of carrying through several important objects upon which his mind had long been bent. First, the subdivision of his vast diocese was ultimately achieved, and bishoprics established at Wellington and at the new Canterbury settlement in the southern island; secondly, legal power was secured for the Church of New Zealand to manage its own affairs by a General Synod, composed of bishops, presbyters, and laity; and thirdly, full recognition was obtained from the Church in England of the Melanesian Mission, John Coleridge Patteson being appointed first Bishop of Melanesia. The latter's welcome by Bishop Selwyn, and their long and affectionate relations together, will be found described in our preceding sketch of Patteson. Bishop Selwyn paid a visit to England in 1854-55, when his stirring addresses greatly revived the missionary spirit.

He returned to New Zealand with Patteson in March, 1855, and not long afterwards the ten years' disastrous war with the Maoris began. The bishop was grieved to the soul by this deadly war, in which he endeavoured again and again to act as a peacemaker. He laboured strenuously, and risked his life in a thousand ways to secure a peaceable fusion of the two races, and if he apparently failed in his object, he had sown so much of Christian truth amongst the natives that it was never eradicated. "There is little

doubt," remarks Canon Curteis, "that the gospel, and its principal handmaid, the Anglican Church, will ere long resume their influence, and will take a permanent possession of the Maori heart. And then the revered name of Bishop Selwyn, so long obscured' by dark clouds of calumny"—through being foolishly misunderstood by both sides—"will emerge again into honoured remembrance, and will perhaps be regarded by both races as the watchword of unity and peace. For it is impossible to imagine that the Christianity taught by that great man has been more than superficially effaced from the Maori mind, when we read of the many acts of Christian heroism which illumined even the darkest days of exasperated warfare." Bishop Selwyn's plan for securing permanent peace between the hostile races was first to soften their mutual antipathies by Christianity, and then to weld them firmly together in peaceful, industrial, and social intercourse. And what better plan could be devised than this for the end in view?

"But this noble and apostolic servant of Christ and of His Church," writes his biographer, "had now nearly done his appointed task of twenty-six years' labour and suffering in New Zealand. He had brought back from England a leader (Mr. Patteson) for the Melanesian Mission, which lay so near his heart. He had found a new centre for that mission at Norfolk Island. He had at last succeeded in dividing his diocese, by placing Bishop Harper in charge of the southern island; he had then still further subdivided each island by the consecration of Bishops Abraham and Williams to

Wellington and Waiapu, and of Bishops Hobhouse and Jenner to Nelson and Dunedin. Thus—Bishop Patteson having also been consecrated in 1861—there were now seven bishops where twenty years before there had been but one; the Church had been provided with an excellent working Constitution; theological training-schools had been established; and the foundations of a native ministry had been successfully laid by the ordination both of Maori and Melanesian converts, and by their institution to pastoral charges among their own people. When, therefore, the summons came from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Longley) to attend the first Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth, it was generally felt that Bishop Selwyn could not possibly disobey such a summons, but it was also foreboded that possibly he would not return. At any rate, in 1867, he sailed a second time for England, and took his seat in the Lambeth Conference—a council which was, in his opinion, the most important event which had happened to the Church since the Reformation. He then attended the Church Congress at Wolverhampton; and finally, when repeatedly commanded to do so by the highest authorities both in Church and State, he accepted the bishopric of Lichfield, and transferred to the service of the Church at home the unwearied energy, the bright intelligence, the art of governing men, and the absolutely unexampled stores of strangely varied experience, which had for twenty-six years been placed unreservedly at the service of the daughter Church of New Zealand.”

But it was not without great reluctance and a severe struggle that Bishop Selwyn accepted the see of Lichfield. Indeed, when the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, first made him the offer, he decisively declined it. In his letter of refusal he said he felt it to be his duty to return to New Zealand, for six special reasons, viz. : first, because the native race required all the efforts of the few friends who remained to them ; secondly, because the organization of the Church in New Zealand was still incomplete ; thirdly, because he had still, so far as he could judge, health and strength for the peculiar duties which habit had made familiar to him ; fourthly, because his bishopric was not endowed ; fifthly, because he had personal friends to whom he was so deeply indebted, that he felt bound to work with them so long as he could ; and sixthly, because a report was spread in New Zealand that he did not intend to return, and to which he answered that nothing but illness or death would prevent him. He added that he could work with all his heart in the Black Country, if it were not that his heart was in New Zealand and Melanesia. But when his loyalty was appealed to, and the primate seconded the offer of Lord Derby with all the weight of his authority, the bishop gave way, and consented to go to Lichfield, thus becoming the episcopal head of the Black Country.

On the 9th of January, 1868, Dr. Selwyn was enthroned as bishop in Lichfield Cathedral. He immediately made a thorough visitation of the diocese, and advocated the conference system in every rural deanery. Some idea of his amazing

activity may be gathered from a record of his labours for six days in succession. He began in the Potteries on a certain Saturday, by preaching a stirring sermon, and afterwards consecrating a plot of ground added to the churchyard. On Sunday he preached three times. On Monday he delivered an address at Stoke, then held a two-hours' meeting, and in the evening preached a sermon at Sneyd. On Tuesday he preached a special sermon before the mayor and corporation, and then administered the Communion; in the afternoon he was at a public luncheon, and afterwards held a diocesan conference; and in the evening he spoke at a missionary meeting. On Wednesday he opened a little iron church at Talke, and preached to a great gathering of colliers outside. Finally, on Thursday he preached twice at Ilam, administered the Holy Communion, and held a meeting about the proposed diocesan synod. It is stated that this history of six days was often repeated, and there is no wonder that the bishop speedily gained the hearts of his new people. Besides being a worker amongst them, he soon made it clear that he was a sympathizer with them.

The bishop succeeded in his scheme of introducing diocesan conferences, and the first of these conferences was held at Shrewsbury, on the 23rd of April, 1868, two hundred members being present. It was soon followed by a similar assemblage at Stafford. The synod was held in the Shire Hall, where the bishop sat on a raised dais, with the archdeacon on one hand, and the lord-lieutenant

(Lord Lichfield) on the other. It was an imposing sight, and five hundred of the clergy and laity were present. In defending these synods at Shrewsbury, and indicating their uses, the bishop said, "There is not one of our institutions which is worked up to half its nominal power. Look at our cathedrals, the mother churches of the diocese, the centres of gospel light, the training-schools of the clergy, the homes of the widow, the foster-parents of the orphan, the fountains to which, even in their state of decay, the parish churches have gone to seek for their choral services. Is there no dormant vigour in those glorious institutions which a diocesan synod may awaken into life? Let us strive to make Lichfield a true mother church, a fountain from which the streams of salvation may flow forth abundantly far and wide into all the neighbouring places. Look at the masses of the people in our mining districts, half of them at least alienated from the Church. Is there nothing for synods to do, when we still have parishes with five thousand and ten thousand souls committed to the care of one clergyman?" The greatest work of the synod was to organize such a lay agency as might assist the Church in redeeming the arrears of the past century by winning back to Christ the people that had been lost.

A conference was held at Derby on June 12, and four days later there was a choral festival at Lichfield, followed next day by a diocesan conference in the Guildhall—the first ever held beneath the shadow of the cathedral. About four hundred members were present, together with a large

number of spectators. The bishop had had a great deal of preparatory and harassing work before he could carry his idea into action, but he was abundantly rewarded by the results. Many who had at first doubted, admired him for his courage in going straight to the solution of one of the greatest needs of the age.

In July, 1868, Bishop Selwyn committed his Lichfield diocese to the charge of Bishop Trower, and sailed for New Zealand, to pay his farewell visit to his former people. He was received in the colony with the greatest demonstrations of delight. At a synod held at Auckland, three farewell addresses were presented to him. The first was a general farewell from the Church in New Zealand ; the second was a special farewell from the Maori Christians ; and the third was an address from the natives of the Waimaté and the Bay of Islands, in their own language, presented by the Rev. Martin Taupaki. This third address was so touching and beautiful, and so sublimely simple in its language, that we reproduce it.

“Sire, the bishop! salutations to you and to mother [Mrs. Selwyn]. We, the people of the places to which you first came, still retain our affection for you both. Our not seeing you occasions us grief, because there will be no seeing you again. We rejoiced at hearing that you were coming to see us ; great was the joy of the heart, and now, hearing that it cannot be, we are again in grief.

“Sire, great is our affection for you both, who are now being lost among us. But how can it be

helped, in consequence of the word of our great one, the Queen?

"Sire, our thought with regard to you is that you are like the poor man's lamb taken away by the rich man. This is our parting wish for you both: Go, sire, and may God preserve you both! May He also provide a man to take your place, of equal powers with yourself! Go, sire, we shall no more see each other in the body, but we shall see one another in our thoughts. However, we are led and protected and sanctified by the same Spirit. Such is the nature of this short life, to sunder our bodies; but in a little while, when we shall meet in the assembly of saints, we shall see each other face to face, one fold under one Shepherd. This is our lament for you in a few words—

'Love to our friend, who has disappeared abruptly from the ranks.

Is he a small man, that he was so beloved?

He has not his equal amongst the many.

The food he dispensed is longed for by me.'"

When the bishop finally left the colony, on the 20th of October, 1868, the day was a sorrowful one. The shops at Auckland were all closed, multitudes were unable to gain admission to the concluding service in St. John's Church, and crowds of people lined the streets when the bishop was escorted, with Mrs. Selwyn, to the pier. As he quitted the shores of New Zealand, the bishop felt that he had left a large portion of his heart behind him.

On arriving in England the bishop resumed his manifold activities, and one of the first changes

in his diocesan arrangements was to hold annual Confirmations instead of triennial. The assistance of Bishop Abraham and Bishop Hobhouse made it possible for him to accomplish this. But while energetically engaged in Derbyshire, in August, 1869, he had a serious attack of nervous prostration, and was compelled to rest from his labours for some weeks. Although Bishop Selwyn was never consulted in the rearrangement of Irish Church affairs after the Disestablishment Act of 1869, "almost every important provision embodied in the Constitution of the Irish Church in 1870, and since tested by many years of practical utility, had previously been proved and tested by thirteen years of successful working in New Zealand." While the bishop had made the most of the Church in New Zealand as he found it, he was strongly opposed to the severance of Church and State in England and Ireland; and the only important speech he delivered in the House of Lords was one in which he avowed himself a most determined upholder of the Established Church.

A general chapter of Lichfield Cathedral was assembled by the bishop in December, 1869, with a special view to a thorough revision of the ancient Latin statutes of the cathedral, and a presentation of them in modern English form. The effort was ultimately crowned with success. The same chapter set on foot the project of carrying evangelistic missions into the Black Country and the Potteries, under the guidance and authority of the chapter at the head-quarters of the diocese. The

next reform adopted was one of providing a probationer system, whereby young men, after examinations extending over two years, could receive one year of final training at the Theological College. In January, 1871, the new house secured for the Theological College in the Cathedral Close was formally opened. During the same year the bishop visited the United States, for the purpose of attending the General Convention of the American Church at Baltimore, where he had a cordial welcome. He paid a second visit to the States in 1874, when he attended both the Canadian Synod at Montreal, and the General Convention of the United States at New York.

While Bishop Selwyn uttered no uncertain sound on many great questions affecting the Church—as, for example, the Education Act of 1870, the University Tests Bill, the Voysey and Purchas judgments, the Athanasian Creed, Confession, Ritualism, the Public Worship Act, the Final Court of Appeal, etc.—he always put the practical rather than the theoretical side of Church life in the forefront, and he was especially anxious to lay hold of the younger generation, and to indoctrinate them in sound principles.

An event of great interest to the Selwyn family, and to the Church at large, took place in 1877, when John R. Selwyn, the bishop's second son, was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia, in succession to the martyred Bishop Patteson. A midnight service was held in Lichfield Cathedral, which corresponded in time with that of the consecration of the new bishop at Nelson. Sister Dora was

present at this service. In the same year, also, another interesting link was established between Bishop Selwyn and the colonies. He was appointed the first prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George—"an order created for the purpose of marking distinguished service in the widespread Greater Britain of these latter days."

But the close of the bishop's vigorous and useful life was not far away. Even his iron frame was beginning to feel the strain and the wear and tear to which he had always subjected it. After a Confirmation at St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, on the 24th of March, 1878, he remarked to Bishop Hobhouse, "The end is come." Next day he returned to Lichfield, and a skilful medical adviser who was called in discovered the presence of a subtle malady, which was rapidly undermining the bishop's strength. He lingered for some days, however, life slowly ebbing away, and on the 11th of April he expired, having, a few days before, completed his seventy-ninth year. He was buried in the Cathedral Close on the 16th, Sister Dora supporting Mrs. Selwyn at the funeral, and Mr. Gladstone standing at the head of the grave.

It has been said of Bishop Selwyn that he was, in every good sense of the word, a Broad Churchman as well as a High Churchman. That is, he could not bear in any way to narrow the boundaries of the Church of England, but desired to live on amicable terms with men of all shades of opinion. In exercising his patronage he took special pains to put the right man in the right

place. He was a true man, and he made his intellectual and spiritual qualities felt by all around him. The poor ever held him in deep affection. Noble in heart and loyal to truth, he deserved the epithet of "great" which was sometimes given him, if unselfishness of life, high views of duty and honour, and constancy in labour enter into the elements of true greatness.

England possesses a lasting memorial of the bishop in Selwyn College, Cambridge, which was founded in 1882, and was built by public subscription. The college aims at supplying an economical university education, based upon the distinctive principles of the Church of England. Though almost the youngest of the colleges, its career already has not been undistinguished.

THE END.

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